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EARLY GREEK
PHILOSOPHY
BEGINNINGS AND EARLY
IONIAN THINKERS
PART 1



Edited and Translated by

ANDRÉ LAKS

GLENN W. MOST

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EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

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EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

VOLUME II

BEGINNINGS AND EARLY IONIAN THINKERS

PART 1

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
ANDRÉ LAKS AND GLENN W. MOST

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PRELIMINARIES

1. ANCIENT WAYS OF ORGANIZING AND PRESENTING EARLY GREEK THOUGHT: DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS [DOX.]

In this preliminary chapter, we present a series of texts intended to clarify the way in which the summaries of doctrine and the doxographic manuals, to which we owe a large part of our information on the doctrines of the archaic philosophers, were produced during the course of the history of Greek philosophy and how some of them have been reconstructed by modern philologists. Although doxographical literature goes back to pre-Aristotelian sources, notably the sophist Hippias and Plato, the systematic investigation of the ‘opinions’ (*doxai*) of predecessors arises with Aristotle and Theophrastus, who are the ultimate source—beyond the compressions, transformations, and additions that accumulated in the course of time—of a handbook of which the most ancient version probably dates to the third century BC and which scholars customarily refer to as the manual of Aëtius. **T17** illustrates how a version of that manual is hypothetically reconstructed on the basis of the various ancient authors who made use of it, **T18** the way in which the summaries scattered through-

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out the different chapters of our anthology may have originally been presented in it. In this chapter, the critical apparatus is reduced to a very small number of indications, and references to parallels with texts that appear in other chapters are given only exceptionally.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

- By Topics (“Doxography”) (T1–T19)*
- Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)*
 - Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)*
 - Aristotle (T8–T12)*
 - Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)*
 - Some Examples (T11–T13)*
 - Theophrastus (T14–T16)*
 - Aëtius’ Doxographic Manual (T17–T19)*
 - An Example Showing the Sources for Its Reconstitution (T17)*
 - Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)*
 - An Example Showing the Effects of Abridgment (T19)*
- By Schools and Successions (T20–T22)*
- Two Lines of Descent (T20)*
 - Three Lines of Descent (T21)*
 - A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)*

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

By Topics ("Doxography") (T1–T19)
Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)

T1 (86 B6) Hippias in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.15.2 [= **HIPPIAS D22**]

τούτων ἴσως εἴρηται τὰ μὲν Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Μουσαίῳ, κατὰ βραχὺ ἄλλῳ ἀλλαχοῦ, τὰ δὲ Ἑσιόδῳ, τὰ δὲ Ὀμήρῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐν συγγραφαῖς τὰ μὲν Ἑλλήσι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκ πάντων τούτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ὁμόφυλα συνθεὶς τοῦτον καινὸν καὶ πολυειδῆ τὸν λόγον ποιήσομαι.

T2 (> 23 A6) Plat. *Theaet.* 152e

[ΣΩ.] καὶ περὶ τούτου πάντες ἐξῆς οἱ σοφοὶ πλὴν Παρμενίδου συμφερέσθων, Πρωταγόρας τε καὶ Ἑράκλειτος καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκατέρας, κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγωδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος, ὃς εἰπὼν,

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

By Topics ("Doxography") (T1–T19)
Pre-Aristotelian Schemes (T1–T7)

T1 (86 B6) Hippias in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*
[= **HIPPIAS D22**]

Of these [scil. probably: ancient opinions] some have doubtless been expressed by Orpheus, others by Musaeus, to put it briefly, by each one in a different place, others by Hesiod, others by Homer, others by the other poets; others in treatises; some by Greeks, others by non-Greeks. But I myself have put together from out of all these the ones that are most important and are akin to one another, and on their basis I shall compose the following new and variegated discourse.

T2 (> 23 A6) Plato, *Theaetetus*

[Socrates:] And on this point [i.e. that nothing exists but everything is always changing] let us admit that all the sages except Parmenides in sequence were in agreement—Protagoras, Heraclitus, and Empedocles, and among the poets the greatest representatives of both kinds of poetry, Epicharmus for comedy and Homer for tragedy, who when he says

᾽Ωκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,
πάντα εἶρηκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως.

T3 (> 22 A6) Plat. *Crat.* 402a–c

[ΣΩ.] λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος ὅτι “πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει,” καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει ὡς “δὺς ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης.” [. . .] τί οὖν; δοκεῖ σοι ἀλλοιότερον Ἡρακλείτου νοεῖν ὁ τιθέμενος τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν προγόνοις “Ῥεάν” τε καὶ “Κρόνον”; ἄρα οἶει ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου αὐτὸν ἀμφοτέροις ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι; ὥσπερ αὖ Ὅμηρος

᾽Ωκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, φησιν, καὶ μητέρα
Τηθύν·

οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος. λέγει δέ που καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὅτι

᾽Ωκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλίρροος ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθὺν ὄπυιεν.

ταῦτ’ οὖν σκόπει ὅτι καὶ ἀλλήλοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου πάντα τείνει.

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

Ocean, the origin of the gods, and mother Tethys
[= **COSM. T10a**],

is stating that all things are born from flux and movement.

T3 (> 22 A6) Plato, *Cratylus*

[Socrates:] Heraclitus says something like this: that all things flow and nothing remains; and comparing the things that are to the flowing of a river, he says that you could not step twice into the same river [cf. **HER. D65c**]. [...] Well then, do you think that the man who gave the names 'Rhea' and 'Cronus' to the ancestors of the other gods had something different in mind from Heraclitus? Do you suppose that it is by chance that he gave to both of them the names of flowing things (*rheumata*)?¹ So too, Homer says,

Ocean, the origin of the gods, and their mother
Tethys, [= **COSM. T10a**]

and I think Hesiod too [cf. *Th.* 776–77; **COSM. T7**, lines 789, 805–6]. And Orpheus too says somewhere that

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to make a beginning
of marriage,
He who wedded his sister Tethys, born of the same
mother. [= **COSM. T15**]

Just look how these all agree with one another and tend toward Heraclitus' doctrines.

¹ The sound of the Greek term can be taken to refer both to *Rhea* and to *Kronos* (cf. *krênê*, *krounos*).

T4 (cf. 21 A29, 22 A10, 31 A29) Plat. *Soph.* 242c–243a

[ΞΕ.] μῦθόν τινα ἕκαστος φαίνεται μοι διηγέισθαι
 παισὶν ὡς οὖσιν ἡμῖν, ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία ὄντα, πολεμεῖ
 δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε αὐτῶν ἅττα πη, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα
 γιγνόμενα γάμους τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν
 ἐκγόνων παρέχεται· δύο δὲ ἕτερος εἰπών, ὑγρὸν καὶ
 ξηρὸν ἢ θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν, συνοικίζει τε αὐτὰ καὶ
 ἐκδίδωσι· τὸ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος, ἀπὸ
 Ξενοφάνους τε καὶ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀρξάμενον, ὡς ἐνὸς
 ὄντος τῶν πάντων καλουμένων οὕτω διεξέρχεται τοῖς
 μύθοις. Ἰάδες δὲ καὶ Σικελαὶ τινες ὕστερον Μοῦσαι
 συνενόησαν ὅτι συμπλέκειν ἀσφαλέστατον ἀμφοτέρα
 καὶ λέγειν ὡς τὸ ὄν πολλά τε καὶ ἓν ἐστίν, ἔχθρα δὲ
 καὶ φιλία συνέχεται. διαφερόμενον γὰρ αἰὲ συμφέρε-
 ται, φασὶν αἱ συντονώτεραι τῶν Μουσῶν· αἱ δὲ μα-
 λακώτεραι τὸ μὲν αἰὲ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐχάλασαν, ἐν
 μέρει δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἓν εἶναί φασι τὸ πᾶν καὶ φίλον ὑπ'
 Ἀφροδίτης, τοτὲ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ
 διὰ νεῖκός τι.

T4 (cf. 21 A29, 22 A10, 31 A29) Plato, *Sophist*

[The stranger from Elea:] Every one of them [scil. the early philosophers] seems to me to tell some kind of story to us as though we were children. One says that there are three beings, that at one time some of them wage war against each other, and that at another they become friends, get married, give birth, and raise their offspring [= **PHER. R2**]; another, speaking of two [scil. beings], the moist and the dry or the hot and the cold, makes them live together and gives them to each other in marriage;¹ our Eleatic tribe, which begins with Xenophanes and even earlier, explain in their stories that what are called “all things” is one [= **XEN. R1**]. Certain Ionian Muses [i.e. Heraclitus], and later some Sicilian ones [i.e. Empedocles],² recognized that it would be safest to weave together both positions [i.e. monist and pluralist] and to say that being is at the same time many and one, and that it is held together by discord and friendship. For what is separated is always brought together, as the more tense of these Muses say [cf. **HER. R31**]. The other ones, more relaxed, have softened the idea that this is always how things are, and say that it is in alternation that at one time the whole is one and friendly under the dominion of Aphrodite, at another time many and hostile to itself because of a certain strife [= **EMP. D78**].

¹ The opposites function as principles for various natural philosophers, but no precise identification is required here.

² Plato is presumably referring to the title of Heraclitus’ book [**HER. R3c**] and is extending it to Empedocles’ poem.

T5 (\neq DK) Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.13–14

[. . .] τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνῶντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινηθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.

T6 ($>$ 24 A3, $>$ 36 A6, $>$ 82 B1) Isocr. *Ant.* 268–69

διατρῦψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας χρόνον τινὰ συμβουλευσάμ' ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι περιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκελετευθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις μηδ' ἐξοκείλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ πλῆθος ἔφησεν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τέτταρα καὶ νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ἴων δ' οὐ πλείω τριῶν, Ἀλκμέων δὲ δύο μόνα, Παρμενίδης δὲ καὶ Μέλισσος ἐν, Γοργίας δὲ παντελῶς οὐδέν. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας τερατολογίας ὁμοίας εἶναι ταῖς θαυματοποιαῖς ταῖς οὐδὲν μὲν ὠφελούσαις, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνοήτων περιστάτοις γιγνομέναις.

T7 (\neq DK) Isocr. *Hel.* 3

πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ὑπερβάλοιτο Γοργίαν τὸν τολμήσαντα λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων ἔστιν ἢ Ζήνωνα τὸν ταῦτὰ δυνατὰ καὶ πάλιν ἀδύνατα πειρώμενον ἀποφαίνειν ἢ

T5 (≠ DK) Xenophon, *Memorabilia*

[. . .] [Scil. Socrates was astonished that] among those who are preoccupied with the nature of all things, some think that what is is only one, others that it is infinite in number; the ones that all things are always in motion, the others that nothing could ever be in motion; and the ones that all things come into being and are destroyed, the others that nothing could ever either come into being or be destroyed.

T6 (> 24 A3, > 36 A6, > 82 B1) Isocrates, *Antidosis*

I would advise young men to spend some time on these kinds of study [i.e. philosophy] but not to allow their nature to become desiccated by them nor to run aground on the arguments of the ancient wise men (*sophistai*), of whom one said that the number of the things that are is unlimited [cf. **ATOM. D45–D47**]; Empedocles that there are four, and strife and love among them [cf. **EMP. D56**]; Ion that there are not more than three; Alcmaeon only two [cf. **ALCM. D3**]; Parmenides and Melissus that it is one [cf. **PARM. D8.11, R22; MEL. D6–D7**]; and Gorgias that it is none at all [cf. **GORG. D26a[1]**]. For I think that these kinds of marvelous tales are similar to magicians' tricks, which are of no use whatsoever but are admired by mindless people.

T7 (≠ DK) Isocrates, *Encomium of Helen*

For how could one surpass Gorgias, who dared to say that nothing exists of the things that exist [cf. **GORG. D26a[1], D26b[65]**], or Zeno, who tries to demonstrate that the same things are possible and then again impossible [cf.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Μέλισσον ὃς ἀπείρων τὸ πλῆθος πεφυκότων τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παντός ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποδείξει· εὐρίσκειν;

Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)

Aristotle (T8–T12)

Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)

T8 (≠ DK) Arist. *Top.* 1.14 105a34–b18

τὰς μὲν οὖν προτάσεις ἐκλεκτέον ὅσαχῶς διωρίσθη περὶ προτάσεως, ἢ τὰς πάντων δόξας προχειριζόμενον ἢ τὰς τῶν πλείστων ἢ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τούτων ἢ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων ἢ τῶν γνωριμωτάτων, μὴ¹ ἐναντίας ταῖς φαινομέναις, καὶ ὅσαι δόξαι κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν [. . .]. ἐκλέγειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων λόγων, τὰς δὲ διαγραφὰς ποιεῖσθαι περὶ ἐκάστου γένους ὑποτιθέντας χωρίς, οἷον περὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἢ περὶ ζώου, καὶ περὶ ἀγαθοῦ παντός, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ τί ἐστίν. παρασημαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκάστων δόξας, οἷον ὅτι Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τέτταρα ἔφησε τῶν σωμαίων στοιχεῖα εἶναι· θείη γὰρ ἂν τις τὸ ὑπό τινος εἰρημένον ἐνδόξου.

¹ μὴ Brunschwig (post Waitz): ἢ τὰς vel ἢ καὶ τὰς mss.

T9 (≠ DK) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983a33–b6

τεθεώρηται μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

ZEN. D4–D11], or Melissus, who, although things are by nature infinite in number, tried to find proofs that the whole is one [cf. **MEL. D6–D7, R24c**]?

Peripatetic Doxography (T8–T16)

Aristotle (T8–T12)

Reasons for Studying Ancient Opinions (T8–T10)

T8 (\neq DK) Aristotle, *Topics*

The premises should be chosen in just as many ways as the distinction we made regarding a premise [cf. 104a8–16], either selecting the opinions of all or those of the majority or those of the experts (*sophoi*), and of these latter either those of all or of the majority or of the most celebrated, when they are <not> opposite to the manifest ones [. . .]. One should also collect them [i.e. the premises] from written books, and make lists about every subject, setting them out under separate headings, for example “about the good” or “about the animal,” (and “on every [scil. type] of good”), beginning with the essence.¹ And one should also mark in the margins the opinions of each author, for example that Empedocles said that the elements of bodies are four [cf. **EMP. D56**]; for what is said by someone reputable (*endoxos*) is likely to be accepted.

¹ For a list deriving ultimately from this program, see **T17**.

T9 (\neq DK) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Although we have examined them [i.e. the four causes]

περὶ φύσεως, ὁμῶς δὲ παραλάβωμεν καὶ τοὺς πρότερον ἡμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ὄντων ἐλθόντας καὶ φιλοσοφήσαντας περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι κακείνοι λέγουσιν ἀρχάς τινας καὶ αἰτίας· ἐπελθοῦσιν οὖν ἔσται τι προὔργου τῇ μεθόδῳ τῇ νῦν ἣ γὰρ ἕτερόν τι γένος εὐρήσομεν αἰτίας ἢ ταῖς νῦν λεγομέναις μᾶλλον πιστεύσομεν.

T10 (≠ DK) Arist. An. 1.2 403b20–25

ἐπισκοποῦντας δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαῖον, ἅμα διαπορῶντας περὶ ὧν εὐπορεῖν δεῖ προελθόντας, τὰς τῶν προτέρων δόξας συμπαραλαμβάνειν ὅσοι τι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπεφάναντο, ὅπως τὰ μὲν καλῶς εἰρημένα λάβωμεν, εἰ δέ τι μὴ καλῶς, τοῦτ' εὐλαβηθῶμεν [... cf. **T12**].

Some Examples (T11–T13)

T11 (> 68 A135) Arist. Phys. 1.2 184b14–24

ἀνάγκη δ' ἥτοι μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ πλείους, καὶ εἰ μίαν, ἥτοι ἀκίνητον, ὥς φησι Παρμενίδης καὶ Μελισσος, ἢ κινουμένην, ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοί, οἱ μὲν ἀέρα φάσκοντες εἶναι οἱ δ' ὕδωρ τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν· εἰ δὲ πλείους, ἢ πεπερασμένους ἢ ἀπείρους, καὶ εἰ πεπερασμένους πλείους δὲ μιᾶς, ἢ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀριθμόν, καὶ εἰ ἀπείρους, ἢ οὕτως ὥσπερ Δημόκριτος, τὸ γένος ἔν, σχήματι δὲ <διαφερούσας>,¹

¹ add. Torstrick

sufficiently in our *Physics* [cf. *Phys.* 2.3], all the same let us also call upon those who, before us, proceeded to study beings and philosophized about the truth. For it is clear that they too speak of certain principles and causes; so it will be useful for the present investigation [scil. to consider them], for either we shall discover some different kind of cause, or else we shall have more confidence about the ones that we are speaking about now.

T10 (\neq DK) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

It is necessary, when we investigate about the soul, at the same time to consider the difficulties for which a solution is found as further progress is made, and to call upon the opinions of all of our predecessors who stated something about it, so that we can accept what has been said well, while if something has not been said well we can be wary of it [. . .].

Some Examples (T11–T13)

T11 (> 68 A135) Aristotle, *Physics*

It is necessary that the principle be either one or several, and if it is one, then either motionless, as Parmenides and Melissus say, or in motion, as the natural philosophers [scil. say], some saying that the first principle is air, others water; if it is more than one, then either limited [scil. in number] or unlimited, and if limited but more than one, either two or three, or four or some other number, and if unlimited then either as Democritus [scil. says], one in kind, but \langle differing \rangle in shape [cf. e.g. **ATOM. D31–D32**], or else different in kind or even contrary. Those too

ἢ εἶδει διαφερούσας ἢ καὶ ἐναντίας. ὁμοίως δὲ ζητοῦσι καὶ οἱ τὰ ὄντα ζητοῦντες πόσα· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἐστὶ πρώτων, ζητοῦσι ταῦτα πότερον ἐν ἢ πολλά, καὶ εἰ πολλά, πεπερασμένα ἢ ἄπειρα, ὥστε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ στοιχείον ζητοῦσι πότερον ἐν ἢ πολλά.

T12 (cf. ad 31 B109) Arist. *An.* 1.2 403b27–31, 404b8–11

παρειλήφαμεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγενεστέρων σχεδὸν δύο ταῦτα περὶ ψυχῆς· φασὶ γὰρ ἔνιοι καὶ μάλιστα καὶ πρώτως ψυχὴν εἶναι τὸ κινεῖν. οἰηθέντες δὲ τὸ μὴ κινούμενον αὐτὸ μὴ ἐνδέχασθαι κινεῖν ἕτερον, τῶν κινουμένων τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι [. . .] ὅσοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὗτοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ μὲν πλείους ποιοῦντες, ταύτας, οἱ δὲ μίαν, αὐτήν [. . .].

T13 (cf. 42.5) Arist. *Meteor.* 1.6 342b25–343a4

περὶ δὲ τῶν κομητῶν καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου γάλακτος λέγωμεν, διαπορήσαντες πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰρημένα πρῶτον. Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν οὖν καὶ Δημόκριτός φασιν εἶναι τοὺς κομήτας σύμφασιν τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων, ὅταν διὰ τὸ πλησίον ἐλθεῖν δόξωσι θιγγάνειν ἀλλήλων· τῶν δ' Ἰταλικῶν τινες καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων ἓνα λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τε χρόνου τὴν φαντασίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ μικρόν,

who inquire into how many beings there are inquire in a similar way: for they inquire whether the first things out of which beings derive are one or many, and if they are many, whether they are limited or unlimited, so that they inquire whether the principle and the element is one or many.

T12 (cf. ad 31 B109) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

We have received from our predecessors roughly speaking the following two [scil. opinions] regarding soul. For some say that what imparts motion is especially and first of all soul. Believing that what is not itself moved is not capable of moving something else, they assumed that the soul is one of the things that are moved [. . .] But all those who [scil. considered] the fact of knowing and perceiving the things that are say that the soul is [scil. constituted out of] principles, those who posit several, those principles, those who posit only one, that principle, [. . .].

T13 (cf. 42.5) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

Let us speak about comets and what is called the “milk” [i.e. the “Milky Way”] after we have first examined the difficulties regarding what others have said. Anaxagoras and Democritus say that comets are a simultaneous flashing of the planets, when by reason of coming closer they seem to touch each other [**ANAXAG. D50; ATOM. D99**], while some of the Italians called Pythagoreans say that it [i.e. a comet] is one of the wandering heavenly bodies [i.e. a planet] but that it only becomes visible at great intervals and that it only rises a little [scil. above the hori-

ὅπερ συμβαίνει καὶ περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστέρα· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μικρὸν ἐπαναβαίνειν πολλὰς ἐκλείπει φάσεις, ὥστε διὰ χρόνου φαίνεσθαι πολλοῦ. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἱπποκράτην τὸν Χίον καὶ τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ Αἰσχύλον ἀπεφήναντο [42 A5 DK], πλὴν τὴν γε κόμην οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φασιν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πλανώμενον διὰ τὸν τόπον ἐνίοτε λαμβάνειν ἀνακλωμένης τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀψεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλκομένης ὑγρότητος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

Theophrastus (T14–T16)

T14 (11 A13, 38 A4, 11 B1, 18.7, 22 A5, 12 A9) *Simpl. In Phys.*, p. 23.21–24.6 (< Theophr. *Frag.* 225 FHS&G)

τῶν δὲ μίαν καὶ κινουμένην λεγόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὓς καὶ φυσικοὺς ἰδίως καλεῖ, οἱ μὲν πεπερασμένην αὐτὴν φασιν, ὥσπερ Θαλῆς μὲν Ἑξαμύους Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἱππων, ὃς δοκεῖ καὶ ἄθεος γεγονέναι, ὕδωρ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν εἰς τοῦτο προαχθέντες. καὶ γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν τῷ ὑγρῷ ζῇ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα ξηραίνεται καὶ τὰ σπέρματα πάντων ὑγρὰ καὶ ἡ τροφή πᾶσα χυλώδης· ἐξ οὗ δέ ἐστιν ἕκαστα, τούτῳ καὶ τρέφεσθαι πέφυκεν· τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεώς ἐστι καὶ συνεκτικὸν πάντων. διὸ πάντων ἀρχὴν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήναντο κείσθαι. Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἑλλη-

zon]—this happens also with Mercury [**PYTHS. ANON. D43**], which because it only rises a little often is not seen, so that it becomes visible at great intervals. Hippocrates of Chios and his pupil Aeschylus¹ express a view very similar to these, except that they say that the tail is not an intrinsic part of it but that it sometimes becomes attached to it while it is wandering through that area, when our sight is reflected toward the sun by the moisture that is attracted by it.

¹ Not the tragedian.

Theophrastus (T14–T16)

T14 (11 A13, 38 A4, 11 B1, 18.7, 22 A5, 12 A9) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* Among those who say that the principle is one and in motion, whom he [i.e. Aristotle] calls natural philosophers in the proper sense, some say that it is limited—as Thales of Miletus, son of Examyas, and Hippo, who is considered to have been an atheist, said that the principle is water, an opinion to which they were led by perceptible appearances. For what is warm lives by what is moist, and corpses dry out, and the seeds of all things are moist, and all nourishment is juicy; and that from which each thing comes is also that by which it is nourished by nature. And water is the principle of moist nature and is what holds all things together. And this is why they supposed that water is the principle of all things and declared that the earth rests upon water [cf. **THAL. D7; HIPPO D20**]. Thales is reported to have been the first to reveal the study of nature

σιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὥς καὶ τῷ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ πολὺ διενεγκῶν ἐκείνων, ὥς ἀποκρύψαι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ· λέγεται δὲ ἐν γραφαῖς μηδὲν καταλιπεῖν πλὴν τῆς καλουμένης Ναυτικῆς ἀστρολογίας.

Ἴππασος δὲ ὁ Μεταποντῖνος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν καὶ οὗτοι καὶ κινούμενον καὶ πεπερασμένον, ἀλλὰ [24] πῦρ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς ποιοῦσι τὰ ὄντα πυκνῶσει καὶ μανῶσει καὶ διαλύουσι πάλιν εἰς πῦρ, ὥς ταύτης μιᾶς οὔσης φύσεως τῆς ὑποκειμένης· πυρὸς γὰρ ἀμοιβὴν εἶναί φησιν Ἡράκλειτος πάντα. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τάξιν τινὰ καὶ χρόνον ὀρισμένον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς κατὰ τινα εἰμαρμένην ἀνάγκην.

T15 (cf. 31 A86, 24 B1a, 59 A92, 62.2, 64 A19, 68 A135) Theophr. *Sens.* 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 25, 27, 38, 39, 49

[1] περὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ καὶ καθόλου δόξαι δύο εἰσὶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἐναντίῳ. Παρμενίδης μὲν καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Πλάτων τῷ ὁμοίῳ, οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Ἡράκλειτον τῷ ἐναντίῳ [. . .].

[2] [. . .] καθόλου μὲν οὖν περὶ αἰσθήσεως αἰσται παραδέδονται δόξαι. περὶ ἐκάστης δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἀπολείπουσιν, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ταύτας ἀνάγειν εἰς τὴν ὁμοιότητα.

to the Greeks. Many others had preceded him, as is the view of Theophrastus too, but he was far superior to them so that he eclipsed all his predecessors [cf. **THAL. R10**]. He is said to have left behind nothing in writing except for the so-called *Nautical Astronomy* [cf. **THAL. R6–R8**].

Hippasus of Metapontum [cf. **HIPPAS. D4**] and Heraclitus of Ephesus too [scil. said] that it is one, in motion, and limited, but [24] they established fire as the principle and make beings come to be out of fire by condensation and rarefaction and dissolve them again into fire, on the idea that this is the one nature that is a substrate. For Heraclitus says that all things are an exchange of fire [cf. **D87**]; and he establishes a certain order and a determinate period for the transformation of the world in conformity with a certain necessity that is fixed by destiny [cf. **D85**].

T15 (cf. 31 A86, 24 B1a, 59 A92, 62.2, 64 A19, 68 A135)
Theophrastus, *On Sensations*

[1] Concerning sensation, most of the general opinions are of two kinds: for some explain it by the similar, others by the contrary: Parmenides, Empedocles, and Plato by the similar, the followers of Anaxagoras and Heraclitus by the contrary. [. . .]

[2] [. . .] These are in general the opinions concerning sensation that have been transmitted. Concerning each of the particular sensations, the others almost entirely neglect them, but Empedocles tries to reduce them too to similarity.

[3] Παρμενίδης μὲν γὰρ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἀφώρικεν ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅτι [. . .].

[5] Πλάτων δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον μὲν ἥπται τῶν κατὰ μέρος [. . .].

[7] Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ περὶ ἀπασῶν ὁμοίως λέγει [. . .].

[25] τῶν δὲ μὴ τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιούντων τὴν αἴσθησιν Ἀλκμαίων μὲν πρῶτον [. . .].

[27] Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ γίνεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις [. . .].

[38] Κλείδημος δὲ μόνος ἰδίως εἴρηκε περὶ τῆς ὀψews [. . .].

[39] Διογένης δ' [. . .] τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀνάπτει διὸ καὶ δόξειεν ἂν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ποιεῖν [. . .].

[49] Δημόκριτος δὲ περὶ μὲν αἰσθήσεως οὐ διορίζει, πότερα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἢ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐστίν.

T16 (cf. 59 A117, 62.3, 64 A32) Theophr. *HP* 3.1.4

[. . .] καὶ ἔτι τὰς αὐτομάτους, ἃς καὶ οἱ φυσιολόγοι λέγουσιν· Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν τὸν αἶρα πάντων φάσκων ἔχειν σπέρματα καὶ ταῦτα συγκαταφερόμενα τῷ ὕδατι γεννᾶν τὰ φυτά· Διογένης δὲ σηπομένου τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μίξιν τινὰ λαμβάνοντος πρὸς τὴν γῆν· Κλείδημος δὲ συνεστάναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ζώοις, ὅσῳ δὲ θολερωτέρων καὶ ψυχροτέρων τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν τοῦ ζῶα εἶναι. λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι περὶ τῆς γενέσεως.

[3] Parmenides has not defined absolutely anything, but only that [. . .].

[5] Plato has approached the particular [scil. sensations] to a greater extent [. . .].

[7] Empedocles speaks about all the sensations in the same way [. . .].

[25] Among those who do not explain sensation by the similar, Alcmaeon begins by [. . .].

[27] Anaxagoras: sensation comes about by the contraries [. . .].

[38] Cleidemus is the only one to have spoken differently from the others about vision [. . .].

[39] Diogenes [. . .] connects sensations too to air. And that is why one might think that he explains them by the similar [. . .].

[49] Democritus does not define, concerning sensation, whether it is produced by the contraries or by the similar.

T16 (cf. 59 A117, 62.3, 64 A32) Theophrastus, *History of Plants*

[. . .] and also the spontaneous [scil. modes of generation of trees], about which the natural philosophers speak too: Anaxagoras, when he says that air contains the seeds of all things and that these descend together with rainwater and generate plants; Diogenes, when water decomposes and takes on some kind of mixture with earth; Cleidemus, that they [i.e. plants] are composed of the same things as animals are, but that they are more removed from being animals, the murkier and colder they are [62.3 DK]; and some others too speak about their generation.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Aëtius' Doxographic Manual (T17–T19) *An Example Showing the Sources for Its* *Reconstitution (T17)*

T17 (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 327–29) Aët. 2.1 [περὶ κόσμον]

Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
1	2.1.1: Πυθαγόρας πρώτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὅλων περιοχὴν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως.	1.21.6c: Πυθαγόρας φησὶ γενητὸν κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τὸν κόσμον, οὐ κατὰ χρόνον.—ὁς καὶ πρώτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὅλων περιοχὴν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως.—ἄρξασθαι δὲ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κό- σμου ἀπὸ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου στοι- χείου.—πέντε δὲ σχη- μάτων ὄντων στερεῶν, ἅπερ καλεῖται καὶ μα- θηματικά, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ κύβου φησὶ γεγονέναι τὴν γῆν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πυραμίδος τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀκταέδρου τὸν ἀέρα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ εἰκο- σαέδρου <τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δωδεκαέδρου> τὴν τοῦ παντὸς σφαῖραν.

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

Aëtius' Doxographic Manual (T17–T19) *An Example Showing the Sources for Its* *Reconstitution (T17)*

T17 (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the World”¹

Theodoret, <i>Cure of the Greek Maladies</i>	Ps.-Plutarch, <i>Opinions of the Philosophers</i>	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i>
1	2.1.1: Pythagoras was the first to name what surrounds everything “world” (<i>kosmos</i>) because of the order in it.	1.21.6c: Pythagoras <i>says that the cosmos is created in concept, not in time.</i> —He was also the first to call what surrounds everything the “world” (<i>kosmos</i>) because of the order in it.— <i>The creation of the cosmos began out of fire and the fifth element.—There being five solid figures, which are also called mathematical, he says that out of the cube comes earth, out of the pyramid fire, out of the octahedron air, out of the icosahedron <water, out of the dodecahedron> the sphere of the whole.</i>

¹ The portions of the translations in italics correspond to additions in Stobaeus regarding Pythagoras that derive from the pseudepigraphic tradition, to rearrangements of the notices about the Stoics in Stobaeus that are due to Stobaeus himself, and to an introductory phrase that has been added by Theodoret.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

	Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
2	4.15: οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτοις διαφωνία γε πλείστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸν κόσμον Θαλῆς μὲν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον. Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξ-αγόρας καὶ Παρμενί-δης καὶ Μέλισσος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστο-τέλης καὶ Ζήνων ἓνα εἶναι ξυνωμολόγησαν.	2.1.2: Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.	1.22.3b (1): Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδο-κλῆς, Ἐκφαντος, Παρμενίδης, Μέλισσος, Ἡράκλειτος, Ἀναξ-αγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀρι-στοτέλης, Ζήνων ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.
3	4.15: Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ καὶ Ἀναξίμενης καὶ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Ξενο-φάνης καὶ Διογένης καὶ Λεύκιππος καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος πολλοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἀπείρους ἐδόξασαν.	2.1.3: Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητῆς Μητροδωρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστα-σιν.	1.22.3b (2): Ἀναξίμαν-δρος, Ἀναξίμενης, Ἀρ-χέλαος, Ξενοφάνης, Διογένης, Λεύκιππος, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιαγωγήν.
4		2.1.4: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου περιδρομον εἶναι περιγραφὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πέρα-τος αὐτοῦ.	1.21.3a (1): Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου περιδρο-μον εἶναι περιγραφὴν τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ κό-σμου.
5		2.1.5: Σέλευκος ἄπει-ρον τὸν κόσμον.	1.21.3a (2): Σέλευκος ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος καὶ Ἡρα-κλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἄπειρον τὸν κόσμον.
6		2.1.6: Διογένης τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρον, τὸν δὲ κόσμον πεπεράνθαι.	1.21.3a (3): Διογένης καὶ Μέλισσος τὸ μὲν πᾶν ἄπειρον, τὸν δὲ κόσμον πεπεράνθαι.

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

	Theodoret, <i>Cure of the Greek Maladies</i>	Ps.-Plutarch, <i>Opinions of the Philosophers</i>	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i>
2	4.15: <i>Not only in these matters was there the greatest difference of opinion among them, but also in others.</i> For in fact Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno agreed that the world is one. [see 3]	2.1.2: Thales and his followers: the world [scil. is] one.	1.22.3b (1): Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Epphantus, Parmenides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno: the world [scil. is] one.
3	4.15: Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus had the opinion that they are many and infinite.	2.1.3: Democritus, Epicurus, and his teacher Metrodorus: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area (<i>peristasis</i>).	1.22.3b (2): Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire circumference (<i>periagôgê</i>).
4		2.1.4: Empedocles: the circular course of the sun is the outline of the world and of its limit.	1.21.3a (1): Empedocles: the circular course of the sun is the outline of the limit of the world.
5		2.1.5: Seleucus: the world [scil. is] unlimited.	1.21.3a (2): Seleucus of Erythrae and Heraclides of Pontus: the world [scil. is] unlimited.
6		2.1.6: Diogenes: the universe [scil. is] unlimited, but the world is limited.	1.21.3a (3): Diogenes and Melissus: the universe is unlimited, but the world is limited.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Theod. Cur.	Ps.-Plut. Plac.	Stob.
7	2.1.7: οἱ Στωικοὶ διαφέρειν τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὅλον· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ σὺν κενῷ ἄπειρον, ὅλον δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κενοῦ τὸν κόσμον· ὥστε [οὐ] τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸν κόσμον.	1.21.3b: οἱ Στωικοὶ διαφέρειν τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὅλον· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι σὺν τῷ κενῷ τῷ ἀπείρῳ, ὅλον δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κενοῦ τὸν κόσμον.—μήτε αὔξεσθαι δὲ μήτε μειοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ὅτε μὲν παρεκτείνεσθαι πρὸς πλείονα τόπον, ὅτε δὲ συστέλλεσθαι.—ἀπὸ γῆς δὲ ἄρξασθαι τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καθάπερ ἀπὸ κέντρον, ἀρχὴ δὲ σφαίρας τὸ κέντρον. 1.22.3c: τῶν ἀπείρους ἀποφνημαμένων τοὺς κόσμους. Ἀναξιμανδρος τὸ ἴσον αὐτοὺς ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων, Ἐπίκουρος ἄνισον εἶναι τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν κόσμων διάστημα.
8		

Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)

T18

a (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 364–66) Aët. 3.1 (Ps.-Plut., Stob., cf. Gal.) [*περὶ τοῦ γαλαξίου κύκλου*]

1. κύκλος ἐστὶ νεφελοειδὴς ἐν μὲν τῷ ἀέρι διὰ παντὸς φαινόμενος, διὰ δὲ τὴν λευκόχροϊαν ὀνομαζόμενος γαλαξίας.

DOXOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIONS

Theodoret, <i>Cure of the Greek Maladies</i>	Ps.-Plutarch, <i>Opinions of the Philosophers</i>	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i>
7	2.1.7: The Stoics: the universe and the whole differ; for the universe is the unlimited together with the void, while the whole is the world without the void. So that the whole and the world are [not] the same.	1.21.3b: The Stoics: the universe and the whole differ; for the universe is with the unlimited void, while the whole is the world without the void.— <i>The world neither increases nor decreases, but sometimes it extends in its parts farther in a greater space, and at other times it contracts.—The generation of the world started from the earth, as from a center, and the starting point of a sphere is the center.</i>
8		1.22.3c: Among those who assert that the worlds are infinite, Anaximander: they are equally distant from one another. Epicurus: the distance between the worlds is unequal.

Some Examples Showing the Structure of the Chapters (T18)

T18

a (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the Milky Way”

1. It is a cloud-like circle which is visible everywhere in the air and is called “galaxy” (i.e. milky) because of its white color.

1 ὀνομαζόμενος γαλαξίας Stob. Gal.: γαλ- ὄν- Plut.

2. τῶν Πυθαγορείων οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀστέρος εἶναι διά-
καυσιν, ἐκπεσόντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἔδρας, δι' οὗ δὲ
περιέδραμε χωρίου κυκλοτερώς αὐτὸ περιφλέξαντος
ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα ἐμπρησμοῦ· οἱ δὲ τὸν ἡλιακὸν
ταύτη φασὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι δρόμον. τινὲς δὲ
κατοπρικὴν εἶναι φαντασίαν τοῦ ἡλίου τὰς αὐγὰς
πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλῶντος, ὅπερ καπὶ τῆς Ἰριδος
ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν συμβαίνει.

3. Μητροδωρος διὰ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου, τοῦτον
γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον.

4. Παρμενίδης τὸ τοῦ πυκνοῦ καὶ ἀραιοῦ μίγμα γαλα-
κτοειδὲς ἀποτελέσαι χρώμα.

5. Ἀναξαγόρας τὴν σκιὰν τῆς γῆς κατὰ τόδε τὸ μέρος
ἵστασθαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅταν ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ὁ ἥλιος γε-
νόμενος μὴ πάντα περιφωτίζει.

6. Δημόκριτος πολλῶν καὶ μικρῶν καὶ συνεχῶν ἀστέ-
ρων συμφωτιζομένων ἀλλήλοις συναυγασμὸν διὰ τὴν
πύκνωσιν.

7. Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναθυμιάσεως ξηρᾶς ἕξαιψιν πολλῆς
τε καὶ συνεχοῦς· καὶ οὕτω κόμην πυρὸς ὑπὸ τὸν
αἰθέρα κατωτέρω τῶν πλανητῶν.

8. Ποσειδώνιος πυρὸς σύστασιν ἄστρου μὲν μανο-
τέραν αὐγῆς δὲ πυκνοτέραν.

2 περιέδραμε Stob. Gal.: ἐπέδραμε Plut. 4 καὶ τὸ τοῦ
ἀραιοῦ Stob. 5 κατὰ τόδε Stob. Gal.: κατὰ τοῦτο Plut.
περιφωτίζει Stob. Gal.: φωτίζει 7 καὶ οὕτω κτλ. non hab.
Stob. 8 ἄστρου κτλ. om. Gal., sed ante Ποσειδώνιος hab.
οἱ Στωικοὶ τοῦ αἰθερίου πυρὸς ἀραιότητα ἀνώτερον τῶν πλα-
νητῶν.

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2. Among the Pythagoreans, some said that it is the burned-up remains of a heavenly body that fell from its proper place and burned up the area that it moved around in a circle, at the time of the conflagration caused by Phaethon; others say that the course of the sun went there at the beginning. Some too [scil. say] that it is the mirror image of the sun reflecting its rays against the heavens, which also happens with the rainbow on the clouds.
3. Metrodorus: because of the passage of the sun, for this is the solar orbit.
4. Parmenides: the mixture of dense and rarefied makes a milk-like color.
5. Anaxagoras: the shadow of the earth is projected onto this part of the heavens when the sun passes under the earth and does not illuminate everything all around it.
6. Democritus: the combined illumination of many small adjacent stars illuminating one another simultaneously because of their crowding together.
7. Aristotle: the igniting of a dry exhalation that is both abundant and continuous; and in this way a tail of fire under the region of the aether below the planets.
8. Posidonius: an accumulation of fire more rarefied than a heavenly body but denser than a sunbeam.

b (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 381–82) Aët. 3.16 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θαλάσσης πῶς συνέστηκε καὶ πῶς ἐστι πικρά]

1. Ἀναξίμανδρος τὴν θάλασσαν φησιν εἶναι τῆς πρώτης ὑγρασίας λείψανον, ἧς τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δ' ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἑκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.

2. Ἀναξαγόρας τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν λιμνάζοντος ὑγροῦ περικαέντος ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς περιφορᾶς καὶ τοῦ λιπαροῦ ἐξατμισθέντος εἰς ἀλυσκίδα καὶ πικρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποστήναι.

3. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἰδρώτα τῆς γῆς ἐκκαιομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον πίλῃσιν.

4. Ἀντιφῶν ἰδρώτα θερμοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὸ περιληφθὲν ὑγρὸν ἀπεκρίθη, τῷ καθειψηθῆναι παραλυκίσαντα ὅπερ ἐπὶ παντὸς ἰδρώτος συμβαίνει.

5. Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὸ διηθεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς γῆς μετελληφέναι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάχους, καθάπερ τὰ διὰ τῆς τέφρας ὑλιζόμενα.

6. οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος τοῦ στοιχειώδους ὕδατος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀέρος κατὰ περίψυξιν συνιστάμενον γλυκὺ γίνεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ γῆς κατὰ περίκαυσιν καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναθυμιάμενον ἀλμυρόν.

b (\neq DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the sea, how it was formed and why it is salty”

1. Anaximander says that the sea is a residue of the original moisture, of which the fire dried up the greater part, while what remained was transformed by the heat.
2. Anaxagoras: the moisture that formed stagnant pools at the beginning was heated by the sun’s revolution, and when the fatty part evaporated the rest turned toward saltiness and bitterness.
3. Empedocles: it is the sweat of the earth that has been completely burned up by the sun because of an ever greater compression.
4. Antiphon: it is the sweat of heat, from which the residue of humidity has separated out, becoming salty by being boiled down—which happens with every kind of sweat.
5. Metrodorus: by being strained through the earth it takes on a portion of the latter’s density, like what is filtered through ash.
6. The followers of Plato: one part of the elementary water, condensing from air by being cooled, becomes sweet, while the other part rising up from the earth by combustion and burning [scil. becomes] salty.¹

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 2.3 357b24–358a27.

c (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 406–7) Aët. 4.16 (Ps.-Plut., Stob. = Johan. Damas.)¹ [περὶ ἀκοῆς]

1. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀκοὴν γίνεσθαι κατὰ πρόσπτωσιν πνεύματος τῷ χονδρώδει, ὅπερ φησὶν ἐξηρτῆσθαι ἐν-
τὸς τοῦ ὠτὸς κώδωνος δίκην αἰωρούμενον καὶ τυπτό-
μενον.

2. Ἀλκμαίων ἀκούειν ἡμᾶς τῷ κενῷ τῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ ὠτός·
τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τὸ διηχοῦν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος
ἐμβολήν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ κενὰ ἤχεῖ.

3. Διογένους τοῦ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀέρος ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς
τυπτομένου καὶ κινουμένου.

4. Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλήττεσθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ
κεφαλῇ ἀέρα· τοῦτον δ' ἀνακλᾶσθαι εἰς τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ
καὶ γίνεσθαι τῆς ἀκοῆς τὴν αἴσθησιν.

¹ Stobaeus 1.53 (p. 491 Wachsmuth) supplies only the final *doxa* (with a slight variant), which is completed by a citation of Plato, *Timaeus* 67a–c. His text is restituted on the basis of the florilegium attributed to John of Damascus.

*An Example Showing the Effects of
Abridgement (T19)*

T19 (*Dox. Gr.*, p. 327) Aët. 2.1.2–3 [περὶ κόσμον]

a (Stob., Theod.)

2. Θαλῆς, Πυθαγόρας, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ἐκφαντος, Παρ-

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c (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On hearing”

1. Empedocles: hearing comes about when air strikes cartilage, which, he says, hanging suspended inside the ear, oscillates and is struck like a bell.
2. Alcmaeon: we hear by means of the void inside the ear; for this is what resounds when air strikes it. For all empty things resound.
3. Diogenes: when the air located in the head is struck and set in motion by a sound.
4. Plato and his followers: the air located in the head is struck; this rebounds toward the governing parts and the sensation of hearing is produced.

An Example Showing the Effects of Abridgment (T19)

T19 (≠ DK) Aëtius, Chapter “On the world”

a (Stobaeus, Theodoret)

2. Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ecphantus, Par-

μενίδης, Μέλισσος, Ἡράκλειτος, Ἀναξαγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ζήνων ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

3. Ἀναξίμανδρος, Ἀναξιμένης, Ἀρχέλαος, Ξενοφάνης, Διογένης, Λεύκιππος, Δημόκριτος, Ἐπίκουρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιαγωγὴν.

b (Ps.-Plut.)

2. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

3. Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητῆς Μητρόδωρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.

By Schools and Successions (T20–T22)

Two Lines of Descent (T20)

T20 (≠ DK) Diog. Laert. 1.13–15

[13] φιλοσοφίας δὲ δύο γεγόνασιν ἀρχαί, ἥ τε ἀπὸ Ἀναξιμάνδρου καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου· τοῦ μὲν Θαλοῦ διακηκούτος, Πυθαγόρου δὲ Φερεκύδης καθηγήσατο. καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ, ὅτι Θαλῆς Ἴων ὢν, Μιλήσιος γάρ, καθηγήσατο Ἀναξιμάνδρου· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, ὅτι τὰ πλείστα κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν. [14] καταλήγει δὲ ἡ μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον καὶ Χρύσιππον καὶ Θεόφραστον· ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ εἰς Ἐπίκουρον. Θαλοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξιμένης, οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης ὁ τὴν ἠθικὴν εἰσαγαγών· οὗ οἱ τε ἄλλοι

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menides, Melissus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno: the world is one.

3. Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaus, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus: worlds unlimited in the unlimited throughout the entire circumference.

b (Ps.-Plutarch)

2. Thales and his followers: the world is one.

3. Democritus, Epicurus, and his teacher Metrodorus: worlds unlimited in the unlimited throughout the entire surrounding area.

By Schools and Successions (T20–T22) *Two Lines of Descent (T20)*

T20 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

[13] There were two starting points of philosophy, one from Anaximander and the other from Pythagoras. The former had studied with Thales, while Pherecydes taught Pythagoras. And the one [scil. line of descent] is called Ionian, because Thales was an Ionian (for he was from Miletus) and taught Anaximander; the Italian one is [scil. named] from Pythagoras, for he did most of his philosophizing in Italy. [14] And the one [i.e. the Ionian one] comes to an end with Cleitomachus, Chrysippus, and Theophrastus, and the Italian one with Epicurus. For of Thales [scil. the disciple was] Anaximander; of him, Anaximenes; of him, Anaxagoras; of him, Archelaus; of him, Socrates, who introduced ethics; of him, the other Socrat-

Σωκρατικοὶ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημίαν συστήσας· οὗ Σπεύσιππος καὶ Ξενοκράτης, οὗ Πολέμων, οὗ Κράντωρ καὶ Κράτης, οὗ Ἀρκεσίλαος ὁ τὴν μέσσην Ἀκαδημίαν εἰσηγησάμενος· οὗ Λακύδης ὁ τὴν νέαν Ἀκαδημίαν φιλοσοφῆσας· οὗ Καρνεάδης, οὗ Κλειτόμαχος. καὶ ὧδε μὲν εἰς Κλειτόμαχον. [15] εἰς δὲ Χρύσιππον οὕτω καταλήγει· Σωκράτους Ἀντισθένης, οὗ Διογένης ὁ κύων, οὗ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς, οὗ Κλεάνθης, οὗ Χρύσιππος. εἰς δὲ Θεόφραστον οὕτως· Πλάτωνος Ἀριστοτέλης, οὗ Θεόφραστος. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἰωνικὴ τοῦτον καταλήγει τὸν τρόπον.

ἡ δὲ Ἰταλικὴ οὕτω· Φερεκίδους Πυθαγόρας, οὗ Τηλαύγης ὁ υἱός, οὗ Ξενοφάνης, οὗ Παρμενίδης, οὗ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης, οὗ Λεύκιππος, οὗ Δημόκριτος, οὗ πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ναυσιφάνης καὶ Ναυκύδης, ὧν Ἐπίκουρος.

Three Lines of Descent (T21)

T21 (≠ DK) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.62.1–64.5

[62.1] φιλοσοφίας τοίνυν μετὰ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄνδρας τρεῖς γεγόνασι διαδοχαὶ ἐπάνυμοι τῶν τόπων

ics, and Plato, who founded the Old Academy; of him, Speusippus and Xenocrates; of him, Polemon; of him, Crantor and Crates; of him, Arcesilaus, who introduced the Middle Academy; of him, Lacydes who [scil. introduced] the New Academy; of him, Carneades; of him, Cleitomachus. And in this way [scil. it came to an end] with Cleitomachus. [15] It came to an end with Chrysippus in the following way: of Socrates [scil. the disciple was] Antisthenes; of him, Diogenes the Cynic; of him, Crates of Thebes; of him, Zeno of Citium; of him, Cleanthes; of him, Chrysippus. [Scil. It came to an end] with Theophrastus in the following way: of Plato [scil. the disciple was] Aristotle; of him, Theophrastus. And the Ionian one [scil. line of descent] comes to an end in this way.

The Italian one [scil. line of descent] in the following way: of Pherecydes [scil. the disciple was] Pythagoras; of him, his son Telauges; of him, Xenophanes; of him, Parmenides; of him, Zeno of Elea; of him, Leucippus; of him, Democritus; of him, many, but by name Nausiphanes and Naucydes; of them, Epicurus.

*Three Lines of Descent (T21)*¹

T21 (≠ DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

[62.1] After the men about whom I have just spoken [scil. the Seven Sages], there were three successions of philoso-

¹ Plato at *Sophist* 242c [= **T4**] derives the Eleatic School from Xenophanes. Aristotle identifies the Italian philosophers with the Pythagoreans (cf. **PYTHS ANON. D2, D36**). Combining these two indications produces, for the Ionian line of descent, three successions.

περὶ οὓς διέτριψαν, Ἰταλικὴ μὲν ἢ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου, Ἴωνικὴ δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ Θαλοῦ, Ἑλεατικὴ δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ Ξενοφάνους. [2] Πυθαγόρας μὲν οὖν Μνησάρχου Σάμιος, ὥς φησιν Ἰππόβοτος, ὥς δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης¹ καὶ Θεόπομπος Τυρρηνὸς ἦν, ὥς δὲ Νεάνθης, Σύριος ἢ Τύριος, ὥστε εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς πλείστους τὸν Πυθαγόραν βάρβαρον τὸ γένος. [3] ἀλλὰ καὶ Θαλῆς, ὥς Λέανδρος καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱστοροῦσι, Φοῖνιξ ἦν, ὥς δέ τινες ὑπειλήφασιν, Μιλήσιος. [4] μόνος οὗτος δοκεῖ τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι, διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀναγράφεται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου, ᾧ Πυθαγόρας ἐμαθήτευσεν. [63.1] ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἢ κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφία ἢ Ἰταλικὴ κατεγήρασεν. [2] Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος Θαλῆν διαδέχεται, τοῦτον δὲ Ἀναξίμενης Εὐρυστράτου Μιλήσιος, μεθ' ὃν Ἀναξαγόρας Ἠγησιβούλου Κλαζομένιος. οὗτος μετήγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήναζε τὴν διατριβήν. [3] τοῦτον διαδέχεται Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης διήκουσεν.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα τῶν ἀπέκλινεν <ό> λαξόος,²
 ἐννομολέσχης,
 Ἑλλήνων ἐπαοιδός.

ὁ Τίμων φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις [Frag. 25.1–2a Di

¹ Ἀριστοτέλης Preller: Ἀρίσταρχος mss.

phy, named after the places in which they were active: the Italian one from Pythagoras, the Ionian one from Thales, and the Eleatic one from Xenophanes. [2] Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus, was from Samos, as Hippobotus says, but as Aristoxenus [scil. says] in his *Life of Pythagoras*, Aristotle and Theopompus, from Tyrrhenia, or as Neanthes [scil. says], Syrian or Tyrian, so that Pythagoras was, according to most people, a barbarian by descent. [3] But Thales, as Leander and Herodotus report, was a Phoenician, although some people suppose that he was from Miletus. [4] He is thought to have been the only one to have met with the priests of the Egyptians, but no teacher of his is recorded, just as little as for Pherecydes of Syros too, with whom Pythagoras studied. [63.1] But the Italian philosophy of Pythagoras grew old in Metapontium in Italy. [2] Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades, followed in succession after Thales, and he was followed by Anaximenes of Miletus, son of Eurystratus, after whom [scil. came] Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, son of Hegesiboulus. He transferred the discipline from Ionia to Athens. [3] He was followed in succession by Archelaus, with whom Socrates studied.

From them then the sculptor turned aside, the law-chatterer, Enchanter of the Greeks,

says Timon in his *Mockeries*, because he turned aside from

² <ό> λαξόος Meineke: λαξόος Diog. Laert. 2.19: λαοξόος Clem.

Marco] διὰ τὸ ἀποκεκλικέναι ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἠθικά. [4] Σωκράτους δὲ ἀκούσας Ἀντισθένης μὲν ἐκύνισε, Πλάτων δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν ἀνεχώρησε. [5] παρὰ Πλάτῳ Ἀριστοτέλης φιλοσοφῆσας μετελθὼν εἰς τὸ Λύκειον κτίζει τὴν Περιπατητικὴν αἵρεσιν. τοῦτον δὲ διαδέχεται Θεόφραστος, ὃν Στράτων, ὃν Λύκων, εἶτα Κριτόλαος, εἶτα Διόδωρος. [6] Σπεύσιππος δὲ Πλάτωνα διαδέχεται, τοῦτον δὲ Ξενοκράτης, ὃν Πολέμων. Πολέμωνος δὲ ἀκουσται Κράτης τε καὶ Κράντωρ, εἰς οὓς ἡ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος κατέληξεν ἀρχαία Ἀκαδημία.

Κράντορος δὲ μετέσχευ Ἀρκεσίλαος, ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι Ἠγησίνου ἤνθησεν Ἀκαδημία ἡ μέση. [64.1] εἶτα Καρνεάδης διαδέχεται Ἠγησίνου καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς. Κράτητος δὲ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὁ τῆς Στωικῆς ἄρξας αἰρέσεως γίνεται μαθητής. τοῦτον δὲ διαδέχεται Κλεάνθης, ὃν Χρύσιππος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτόν.

[2] τῆς δὲ Ἐλεατικῆς ἀγωγῆς Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος κατάρχει, ὃν φησι Τίμαιος κατὰ Ἰέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην καὶ Ἐπίχαρμον τὸν ποιητὴν γενόμεναι, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα γενόμενον παρατετακέναι ἄχρι τῶν Δαρείου τε καὶ Κύρου χρόνων. [3] Παρμενίδης τοίνυν Ξενοφάνους ἀκουστής γίνεται, τούτου δὲ Ζήνων, εἶτα Λεύκιππος, εἶτα Δημόκριτος. [4] Δημοκρίτου δὲ ἀκουσται Πρωταγόρας ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος, οὗ Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος, οὗ Ἀνάξαρχος, τού-

natural philosophy to ethics. [4] After they had studied with Socrates, Antisthenes became a Cynic and Plato withdrew to the Academy. [5] After Aristotle philosophized with Plato he moves to the Lyceum and founds the Peripatetic school. Theophrastus follows him in succession, Strato him, Lycon him, then Critolaus, then Diodorus. [6] Speusippus follows Plato in succession, Xenocrates him, Polemon him. Polemon's pupils [scil. were] Crates and Crantor, with whom the Old Academy, which had begun with Plato, came to an end.

Arcesilaus participated [scil. in the teaching of] Crantor; from him [i.e. Arcesilaus], the Middle Academy flourished until Hegesinus. [64.1] Then Carneades and those in sequence after him follow in succession Hegesinus. Zeno of Citium, the initiator of the Stoic school, was the pupil of Crates. Cleanthes followed him in succession, Chrysippus and those after him, him.

[2] Xenophanes of Colophon is the initiator of the Eleatic school; according to Timaeus he lived at the time of Hieron, the ruler of Sicily, and of the poet Epicharmus, while Apollodorus says he was born in the 40th Olympiad and lived until the times of Darius and Cyrus. [3] Parmenides then becomes Xenophanes' student; Zeno, his; then Leucippus, then Democritus. [4] Democritus' pupils [scil. were] Protagoras of Abdera and Metrodorus of Chios; Diogenes of Smyrna, his; Anaxagoras, his; Pyrrho,

του δὲ Πύρρων, οὗ Ναυσιφάνης· τούτου φασὶν ἔνιοι μαθητὴν Ἐπίκουρον γενέσθαι.

[5] καὶ ἡ μὲν διαδοχὴ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἦδε, οἱ χρόνοι δὲ τῶν προκαταρξάντων τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτῶν ἐπομένως λεκτέοι, ἵνα δὴ ἐν συγκρίσει ἀποδείξωμεν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν τὴν κατὰ Ἑβραίους φιλοσοφίαν.

A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)

T22 (*Dox. Gr.*, pp. 589–90) Eriph. 3.2.9

1. αὐτὸς γὰρ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος εἰς ὧν τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ἀρχέγονον πάντων ἀπεφήνατο τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐξ ὕδατος γάρ φησι τὰ πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς ὕδωρ πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι.
2. Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ τοῦ Πραξιάδου καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸ ἄπειρον ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων ἔφησεν εἶναι· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὰ πάντα ἀναλύεσθαι.
3. Ἀναξίμενης ὁ τοῦ Εὐρυστράτου καὶ αὐτὸς Μιλήσιος τὸν ἀέρα τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν εἶναι λέγει καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὰ πάντα.
4. Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ τοῦ Ἡγησιβούλου ὁ Κλαζομένιος ἀρχὰς τῶν πάντων τὰς ὁμοιομερείας ἔφησεν εἶναι.
5. Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Ἀπολλοδώρου, κατὰ δέ τινας Μίλτωνος, Ἀθηναῖος δὲ ἦν, φυσικός, ἐκ γῆς τὰ πάντα λέγει γεγενῆσθαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄλων ἐστίν, ὥς φησι.

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this man's; Nausiphanes, his; some say that Epicurus became the pupil of this last.

[5] And this is, in summary form, the succession of the philosophers among the Greeks; next we must state the dates of those among them who made a beginning of philosophy, so that we can demonstrate by comparison that philosophy among the Hebrews was older by many generations.

A Doxographic List Based on a Succession (T22)

T22 (≠ DK) Epiphanius, *Panarion* (*Against Heresies*)

1. For Thales of Miletus himself, who was one of the Seven Sages, declared that water is the origin of all things; for he says that all things come from water and in turn are dissolved into water.

2. Anaximander—from Miletus too, son of Praxiades,—said that the unlimited is the principle of all things; for out of this all things come to be and into it all things are dissolved.

3. Anaximenes—from Miletus too, son of Eurystratus—said that air is the principle of the whole and that all things come from it.

4. Anaxagoras—from Clazomenae, son of Hegesiboulus—said that the homoiomerics are the principles of all things.

5. Archelaus—son of Apollodorus (but according to some people, son of Milton), and he was an Athenian natural philosopher—says that all things have come to be out of earth. For this is the principle of all things, as he says.

6. Σωκράτης ὁ ἔρμογλύφου Σωφρονίσκου καὶ Φαιναρέτης τῆς μαίας ὁ ἠθικὸς τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε μόνον δεῖν περιεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πλείονα δὲ μή.

7. Φερεκύδης καὶ αὐτὸς γῆν φησι πρὸ πάντων γεγενῆσθαι.

8. Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος Μνησάρχου υἱὸς θεὸν ἔφη εἶναι τὴν μονάδα καὶ δίχα ταύτης μηδὲν γεγενῆσθαι. ἔλεγε δὲ μὴ δεῖν θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ζῶα μηδὲ μὴν ἐσθίειν τι τῶν ἐμψύχων μηδὲ κυάμους μηδὲ οἶνον πίνειν τοὺς σοφούς. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ σελήνης κάτω παθητὰ εἶναι πάντα, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράνω τῆς σελήνης ἀπαθῆ εἶναι. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ μεταβαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς πολλὰ ζῶα. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ σιωπᾶν ἐπὶ πενταετῇ χρόνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμασε.

9. Ξενοφάνης ὁ τοῦ Ὀρθομένους Κολοφώνιος ἐκ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἔφη τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι. εἶναι δὲ τὰ πάντα ὥς ἔφη οὐδὲν ἀληθές. οὕτως τὸ ἀτρεκὲς ἄδηλον, δόκησις δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται μάλιστα τῶν ἀφανέων.

10. Παρμενίδης ὁ τοῦ Πύρητος τὸ γένος Ἐλεάτης καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ ἄπειρον ἔλεγεν ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων.

11. Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ὁ ἐριστικὸς ἴσα τῷ ἐτέρῳ Ζήνωνι καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀκίνητον λέγει καὶ μηδένα τόπον κενὸν εἶναι. καὶ λέγει οὕτως· τὸ κινούμενον ἦτοι ἐν ᾧ

6. Socrates—son of the sculptor Sophroniscus and the midwife Phaenarete—philosopher of ethics, said that a human being should only concern himself with himself, and with nothing more.
7. Pherecydes too says that earth came to be before all things [cf. **PHER. D5**].
8. Pythagoras—from Samos, son of Mnesarchus—said that the monad is god and that nothing has come to be without this. He said that wise men must not sacrifice animals to the gods, nor eat anything animate or beans, nor drink wine. He said that all the things below the moon are subject to affections while those above the moon are impassible. He also said that the soul passes into many animals. He also ordered his pupils to remain silent for a period of five years and in the end he proclaimed himself a god.
9. Xenophanes—son of Orthomenes, from Colophon—said that all things come from earth and water. And he said that the totality of things is not at all true; so what is certain is unclear, and opinion extends over all things, especially invisible ones.
10. Parmenides too—the son of Pyres, from Elea by family—said that the unlimited is the principle of all things.¹
11. Zeno of Elea, the eristic philosopher, says like the other Zeno [scil. of Citium] both that the earth is immobile and that no place is empty. And he says the following: what is in motion is in motion either in the place in which it is

¹ This is an error, perhaps indirectly caused by a confusion with Melissus.

ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται ἢ ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστι. καὶ οὔτε ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τόπῳ κινεῖται οὔτε ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν· οὐκ ἄρα τι κινεῖται.

12. Μέλισσος ὁ τοῦ Ἰθαγένους Σάμιος τὸ γένος ἐν τὸ πᾶν ἔφη εἶναι, μηδὲν δὲ βέβαιον ὑπάρχειν τῇ φύσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα εἶναι φθαρτὰ ἐν δυνάμει.

13. Λεύκιππος ὁ Μιλήσιος, κατὰ δὲ τινας Ἐλεάτης, καὶ οὗτος ἐριστικός· ἐν ἀπείρῳ καὶ οὗτος τὸ πᾶν ἔφη εἶναι, κατὰ φαντασίαν δὲ καὶ δόκησιν τὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' οὕτω φαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κώπην.

14. Δημόκριτος ὁ τοῦ Δαμασίππου Ἀβδηρίτης τὸν κόσμον ἄπειρον ἔφη καὶ ὑπὲρ κενοῦ κεῖσθαι. ἔφη δὲ καὶ ἐν τέλος εἶναι τῶν πάντων καὶ εὐθυμίαν τὸ κράτιστον εἶναι, τὰς δὲ λύπας ὄρους κακίας. καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν δίκαιον οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον, ἄδικον δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον τῆς φύσεως. ἐπίνοιαν γὰρ κακὴν τοὺς νόμους ἔλεγε καὶ οὐ χρὴ νόμοις πειθαρχεῖν τὸν σοφόν, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθερίως ζῆν.

15. Μητρόδωρος ὁ Χίος ἔφη μηδένα μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἃ δοκοῦμεν γινώσκειν, ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι δεῖ προσέχειν· δοκῇσι γάρ ἐστι τὰ πάντα.

16. Πρωταγόρας ὁ τοῦ Μενάνδρου Ἀβδηρίτης ἔφη μὴ θεοὺς εἶναι μηδὲ ὅλως θεὸν ὑπάρχειν.

17. Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος, κατὰ δὲ τινας Κυρηναῖος, τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Πρωταγόρᾳ ἐδόξασε.

or in the one in which it is not. And neither is it in motion in the one in which it is nor in the one in which it is not. Therefore nothing is in motion.

12. Melissus—son of Ithagenes, from Samos by family—said that the whole is one, and that nothing stable comes about in nature, but that all things are potentially destructible.

13. Leucippus too—from Miletus (but according to some from Elea)—an eristic philosopher too, said too that the whole is in the unlimited, and that it is in appearance and opinion that all things come to be and that this is not true at all, but that it appears in the same way as an oar in water.

14. Democritus—son of Damasippus, from Abdera—said that the world is unlimited and rests upon the void. He also said that the end of all things is one and that contentment (*euthumia*) is the best thing, while sufferings are the limits of evil. And what is thought to be just is not just, while what is contrary to nature is unjust. For he said that the laws are a bad invention, and that the wise man should not obey the laws but live freely.

15. Metrodorus—from Chios—said that no one knows anything, but that what we think we know, we do not know exactly, nor should we pay attention to sense perception. For all things are by opinion.

16. Protagoras—son of Menander, from Abdera—said that the gods do not exist and that on the whole there is no god.

17. Diogenes—from Smyrna (but according to some from Cyrene)—had the same opinions as Protagoras.

18. Πύρρων ἀπὸ Ἡλιδος τῶν ἄλλων σοφῶν τὰ δόγματα συναγαγὼν πάντα ἀντιθέσεις αὐτοῖς ἔγραψεν ἀνατρέπων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐδενὶ δόγματι ἡρέσκειτο.

19. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὁ τοῦ Μέτωνος Ἀκραγαντίνος πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα τέτταρα πρωτόγονα εἰσέφερε στοιχεῖα καὶ ἔλεγεν ἔχθραν ὑπάρχειν πρῶτον τῶν στοιχείων. κεχώριστο γάρ, φησί, τὸ πρότερον, νῦν δὲ συνήνωται, ὥς λέγει, φιλωθέντα ἀλλήλοις. δύο οὖν εἰσι κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχθρα καὶ φιλία, ᾧν ἡ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐνωτικὴ ἡ δὲ διαχωριστικὴ.

20. Ἡράκλειτος ὁ τοῦ Βλέσωνος Ἐφέσιος ἐκ πυρὸς ἔλεγε τὰ πάντα εἶναι καὶ εἰς πῦρ πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι.

21. Πρόδικος τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα θεοὺς καλεῖ εἶτα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πᾶσι τὸ ζωτικὸν ἔλεγεν ὑπάρχειν.

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18. Pyrrho—from Elis—after having collected all the opinions of the other wise men, wrote antitheses to them, reversing their opinions; and he did not accept any opinion.

19. Empedocles—son of Meton, from Acragas—introduced fire, earth, water, and air as four firstborn elements and said that hatred exists before the elements. For, he said, earlier they had been separated, but now they are united, as he says, having become friends of one another. Thus there are two principles and powers according to him, hatred and love, of which the one unifies and the other separates.

20. Heraclitus—son of Bleson, from Ephesus—said that all things come from fire and in turn are dissolved into fire.

21. Prodicus calls the four elements gods, then the sun and moon. For he said that it is out of these that life comes for all things.²

² The list continues with the Socratic schools (Plato, the Cyrenaics, the Cynics) and their descendants (New Academy, Aristotle, and the Peripatetics), the Stoics, and concludes with Epicurus.

BACKGROUND

2. COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS [COSM.]

The thinkers traditionally identified as the first philosophers were not the first people in ancient Greece to have speculated about the origin and structure of the world: various traces of cosmological reflection are preserved in the earliest surviving Greek poetry. Aristotle distinguished terminologically between *theologoi*, the archaic poets who wrote about gods (cf. *Metaphysics* B4, 1000a9), and *phusiologoi*, the early philosophers who wrote about nature (cf. A6, 1071b27; A10, 1075b26); but he was also careful to indicate the continuities, indeed the similarities between the two groups (cf. N4, 1091a34; cf. also **THAL. R32**). Indeed, a number of 'philosophical' cosmologies only become fully comprehensible against the background of traditional representations, which they presuppose even on the level of specific expressions.

The present chapter brings together a number of cosmological passages drawn from archaic Greek poets and thereby presents one kind of background that is useful for contextualizing the thought of the early Greek philosophers. Some of these texts are of interest as surviving vestiges of kinds of speculation that must have been widespread in early Greek oral culture but have otherwise been lost; others are presupposed, in content or expression, by

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various texts that are classified as philosophical and that are found in the following chapters.

In this chapter, as in those dedicated to ancient doxography (chap. 1), to the most ancient reflections on gods and men (chap. 3), and to the echoes of philosophical doctrines found among the Greek dramatists (chap. 43), the critical apparatus for the Greek texts is reduced to a minimum, indicating solely our divergences, if any, from the editions of reference listed in volume 1. We have also refrained from providing bibliographical indications, which would not have made much sense here.

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

The Structure of the World (T1–T9)

Earth and Heavens (T1)

Ocean (T2–T3)

Tartarus (T4–T5)

Styx (T6–T7)

Night and Day (T8–T9)

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22)

Homeric Traces (T10)

Hesiod (T11)

Orphic Texts (T12–T20)

In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)

In Orphic Theogonies Reported by Later Authors (T13–T20)

Various Starting Points (T13–T18)

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)

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The Structure of the World (T1–T9) *Earth and Heavens (T1)*

T1 (> 7 B2) Hom. *Il.* 18.483–89

ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ
θάλασσαν,
ἥελιόν τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσιν,
485 ἐν δὲ τὰ τεύρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς
ἐσσεφάνονται,
Πληϊάδας θ' Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὀρίωνος
Ἄρκτόν θ', ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν,
ἧ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει,
οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.

Ocean (T2–T3)

T2 Hom. *Il.*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24) 14.200–201
≈ 14.301–2

εἶμι γὰρ ὀψομένη πολυφόρβον πείρατα γαίης,

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The Structure of the World (T1–T9) *Earth and Heavens (T1)*

T1 (> 7 B2) Homer, *Iliad*

He [i.e. Hephaestus] made the earth on it [i.e.
Achilles' shield], and the heavens, and the sea,
And the tireless sun and the full moon,
And all the constellations with which the heavens are 485
crowned,
The Pleiades and the Hyades and Orion's strength
And the Bear, which they also call the Wagon by
name,
Which turns around in place and watches Orion,
And is the only one to have no share of Ocean's baths.

Ocean (T2–T3)

T2 Homer, *Iliad*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24)

For I [i.e. Hera] am going to see the limits of the all-
nourishing earth,

Ὠκεανόν τε [. . . = T10a].

b (> 7 B2) 18.607–8

ἐν δὲ τίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο
ἄντυγα πὰρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

T3 (≠ DK) Hes. *Th.* 274–75

Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο
ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἔν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι
[. . .].

Tartarus (T4–T5)

T4 (> 28 A44) Hom. *Il.* 8.13–16

ἥ μιν ἐλὼν ρίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα
τῆλε μάλ', ἥχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι
βέρεθρον,
15 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ
γαίης.

T5 (> ad 31 B39) Hes. *Th.* 717–45

[. . .] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρνοδείης
πέμψαν καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλείοισιν ἔδησαν,
νικήσαντες χερσὶν ὑπερθύμους περ ἑόντας,

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And Ocean [. . .].

b (> 7 B2) [Description of the shield of Achilles]

And he [i.e. Hephaestus] put on it [i.e. Achilles' shield] the great strength of river Ocean,
Along the outer rim of the very well made shield.

T3 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

And the Gorgons who dwell beyond glorious Ocean
At the edge toward the night, where the clear-voiced
Hesperides are [. . .].

Tartarus (T4–T5)

T4 (> 28 A44) Homer, *Iliad*

Or I [i.e. Zeus] will seize him¹ and throw him into
murky Tartarus,
Very far away, where there is the deepest gulf
beneath the earth,
Where iron gates and a bronze threshold are,
As far below Hades as the sky is from the earth.

¹ Any god who defies Zeus' orders not to help the Greeks or Trojans.

T5 (> ad 31 B39) Hesiod, *Theogony*

They [i.e. the Olympian gods] sent them [i.e. the Titans] down under the broad-pathed earth
And bound them in distressful bonds

- 720 τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ
γαίης
τόσσον γάρ τ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα.
ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
οὐρανόθεν κατιῶν, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαίαν ἵκοιτο·
- 723a [ἴσον δ' αὖτ' ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα]
ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέματα χάλκεος ἄκμων
725 ἐκ γαίης κατιῶν, δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι.
τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν
νύξ
τριστοιχὶ κέχυται περὶ δειρήν· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
γῆς ρίζαι πεφύασι καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.
- 730 ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡρόεντι
κεκρύφεται βουλῇσι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,
χώρῳ ἐν εὐρώεντι, πελώρης ἔσχατα γαίης.
τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστι, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων
χαλκείας, τεῖχος δ' ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν.
ἔνθα Γύγης Κόττος τε καὶ Ὀβριάρεως μεγάλθυμος
735 ναίουσιν, φύλακες πιστοὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
ἔνθα δὲ γῆς δνοφερῆς καὶ Ταρτάρου ἡρόεντος

734–45 secl. West

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

After they had gained victory over them with their
 hands, high-spirited though they were,
 As far down beneath the earth as the sky is above the 720
 earth:
 For it is just as far from the earth to murky Tartarus.
 For a bronze anvil, falling down from the sky for nine
 nights and days,
 On the tenth day would arrive at the earth;
 [And in turn it is the same distance from the earth to 723a
 murky Tartarus;]¹
 And again, a bronze anvil, falling down from the
 earth for nine nights and days,
 On the tenth would arrive at Tartarus. 725
 Around this a bronze barricade is extended, and on
 both sides of it night
 Is poured out threefold around its neck; and above it
 Grow the roots of the earth and of the barren sea.
 That is where the Titan gods are hidden
 under murky gloom
 By the plans of the cloud-gatherer Zeus, 730
 In a dank place, at the farthest part of huge earth.
 They cannot get out, for Poseidon has set bronze
 gates upon it,
 And a wall is extended on both sides.
 That is where Gyges, Cottus, and great-
 spirited Obriareus²
 Dwell, the trusted guards of aegis-holding Zeus. 735
 That is where the sources and limits of the dark earth
 are, and of murky Tartarus,

¹ This line is rejected as an interpolation by many editors.

² The Hundred-Handers.

740 πόντου τ' ἀτρυγέτοιο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 ἐξείης πάντων πηγαὶ καὶ πείρατ' ἔασιν,
 ἀργαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ
 χάσμα μέγ', οὐδέ κε πάντα τελεσφόρον εἰς
 ἐνιαυτόν
 οὔδας ἴκοιτ', εἰ πρῶτα πυλέων ἔντοσθε γένοιτο,
 ἀλλὰ κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα φέροι πρὸ θύελλα
 θυέλλης
 ἀργαλέῃ δεινὸν δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
 τοῦτο τέρας· καὶ Νυκτὸς ἐρεμνῆς οἰκία δεινά
 745 ἔστηκεν νεφέλης κεκαλυμμένα κυανέησιν.

Styx (T6–T7)

T6 (> 11 A12) Hom. *Il.* 15.37–38

καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος
 ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι [. . .]

T7 (ad 31 B115) Hes. *Th.* 782–95, 805–6

ὁππότ' ἔρις καὶ νείκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρηται,
 καί ῥ' ὅστις ψεύδεται Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἐχόντων,
 Ζεὺς δέ τε Ἴριν ἔπεμψε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ἐνεῖκαι

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

Of the barren sea, and of the starry sky,
Of everything, one after another,
Distressful, dank, things which even the gods abhor:
A great chasm, whose bottom one would not reach in 740
a whole long year,
Once one was inside the gates,
But one would be borne hither and thither by one
distressful blast after another—
It is terrible for the immortal gods as well,
This monstrosity; and the terrible houses of dark
Night
Stand here, shrouded in black clouds. 745

Styx (T6–T7)

T6 (> 11 A12) Homer, *Iliad*

[. . .] the downward-flowing water of the Styx, which
is the greatest
and most dreadful oath for the blessed gods [. . .]¹

¹ For other Homeric references to the Styx as the gods' oath, see *Il.* 2.755, 14.271 (= *Od.* 5.184–86, *Hymn to Apollo* 84–86); *Hymn to Demeter* 259; *Hymn to Hermes* 518–19.

T7 (ad 31 B115) Hesiod, *Theogony*

Whenever strife and quarrel arise among the
immortals
And one of those who have their mansions on
Olympus tells a lie,
Zeus sends Iris to bring the great oath of the gods

- 785 τηλόθεν ἐν χρυσῇ προχόῳ πολυνύμῳ ὕδωρ,
 ψυχρόν, ὃ τ' ἐκ πέτρης καταλείβεται ἡλιβάτοιο
 ὑψηλῆς· πολλὸν δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυνοδείης
 ἐξ ἱεροῦ ποταμοῖο ῥέει διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν·
 Ὀκεανοῖο κέρας, δεκάτῃ δ' ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται·
 790 ἐννέα μὲν περὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης
 δίνης ἀργυρῆς εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει,
 ἥ δὲ μί' ἐκ πέτρης προρέει, μέγα πῆμα θεοῖσιν.
 ὅς κεν τὴν ἐπίορκον ἀπολλείψας ἐπομόσση
 ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
 795 κεῖται νήντμος τετελεσμένον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.
 [. . .]
 805 τοῖον ἄρ' ὄρκον ἔθεντο θεοὶ Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον
 ὕδωρ,
 ὡγύγιον· τὸ δ' ἴησι καταστυφέλου διὰ χώρου.

Night and Day (T8–T9)

T8 (≠ DK) Hes. *Th.* 746–57

[. . . = **T5**] τῶν πρόσθ' Ἰαπετοῖο πάϊς ἔχει
 οὐρανὸν εὐρύν
 ἐστηῶς κεφαλῇ τε καὶ ἀκαμάτησι χέρεσσιν
 ἀστεμφέως, ὅθι Νύξ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἄσσον ἰοῦσαι

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

From afar in a golden jug, the much-renowned water, 785
 Icy, which pours down from a great, lofty crag.
 It flows abundantly from under the broad-pathed
 earth,
 From the holy river through the black night—
 A branch of Ocean, and a tenth portion has been
 assigned to her.
 For nine-fold around the earth and the broad back of 790
 the sea
 He whirls in silver eddies and falls into the sea,
 And she as one portion flows forth from the crag, a
 great woe for the gods.
 For whoever of the immortals, who possess the peak
 of snowy Olympus,
 Swears a false oath after having poured a libation
 from her,
 He lies breathless for one full year [. . .] 795
 It is this sort of oath that the gods have established 805
 the imperishable water of Styx,
 Primeval; and it pours out through a rugged place.¹

¹ For another Hesiodic reference to the Styx as the gods' oath, see *Theogony* 400.

Night and Day (T8–T9)

T8 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

In front of these [i.e. the gates of Tartarus], Iapetus'
 son [scil. Atlas] holds the broad sky
 With his head and tireless hands, standing
 Immovable, where Night and Day passing near

- 750 ἀλλήλας προσέειπον ἀμειβόμεναι μέγαν οὐδὸν
 χάλκεον· ἡ μὲν ἔσω καταβήσεται, ἡ δὲ θύραζε
 ἔρχεται, οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφοτέρας δόμος ἐντὸς ἔεργει,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐτέρη γε δόμων ἔκτοσθεν ἐοῦσα
 γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται, ἡ δ' αὖ δόμον ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα
 755 μίμνει τὴν αὐτῆς ὥρην ὁδοῦ, ἔστ' ἂν ἴκηται·
 ἡ μὲν ἐπιχθονίοισι φάος πολυδερκὲς ἔχουσα,
 ἡ δ' Ὀππνον μετὰ χερσί, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο,
 Νύξ ὀλοή, νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένη ἡεροειδέϊ.

T9 (≠ DK) Stesich. Frag. S17 = 185 PMGF

τᾶμος δ' Ὀπεριονίδα ἰς
 δέπας ἐσκατέβα <παγ>χρύσειον ὄ-
 φρα δι' Ὀκεανοῖο περάσαις
 ἀφίκουθ' ἰαράς ποτὶ βένθεα νυ-
 κτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς
 ποτὶ ματέρα κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον
 παίδας τε φίλους [. . .]

textus valde incertus

1 τᾶμος Barrett: ἄλιος mss.
 -δας mss.

Ὀπεριονίδα ἰς West:

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

Greet one another as they cross the great bronze
 Threshold. The one is about to go in and the other 750
 Is going out the door, and never does the house hold
 them both inside,
 But always the one, being outside of the house,
 Passes over the earth, while the other in turn
 remaining inside the house
 Waits for the time of her own departure, until it
 comes.¹
 The one holds much-seeing light for those on the 755
 earth,
 But the other holds Sleep in her hands, the brother
 of Death—
 Deadly Night, shrouded in murky cloud.

¹ Cf. Homer, *Od.* 10.82–86.

T9 (≠ DK) Stesichorus, Fragment of *Geryoneis*

Then the strength of Hyperion's son [i.e. Helios]
 Went down into a cup of solid gold so
 That he could travel across Ocean
 And arrive at the depths
 Of holy, gloomy night,
 To see his mother, his wedded wife,
 And his dear children [. . .].

2 ἐσκατέβαινε χρύσειον mss., corr. West apud Führer

3 περάσας mss., corr Page

4 ἀφίκηθ', corr. Blomfield

ιέρᾱς mss., corr. Page

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22)

Homeric Traces (T10)

T10 *Il.*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24) 14.201 = 14.302

[. . . = **T2a**] Ὀκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα
Τηθύν [. . .].

b (< 38 B1) 21.194–97

τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρείται μέγα σθένος Ὀκεανοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρεῖατα μακρὰ νάουσιν.

c (≠ DK) 14.245–46

[. . .] ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα
Ὀκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

Hesiod (T11)

T11 (> 7 B1a, 9 B2, 30 A5, 31 B27) *Th.* 116–38

ἦτοι μὲν πρότεστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

Forms of Cosmotheogony (T10–T22) *Homeric Traces (T10)*

T10 *Iliad*

a (> 1 B2, ad B10, B13; 3 B5; 11 A12; 70 A24)

[. . .] Ocean, the origin of the gods, and mother
Tethys [. . .]

b (< 38 B1)

Not even does mighty Achelous equal him [i.e. Zeus],
Nor even the great strength of deep-flowing Ocean,
From whom all the rivers and all the sea
And all springs and deep wells flow.

c (≠ DK)

[. . .] the streams of the river
Ocean, who is the origin of all [. . .]

Hesiod (T11)

T11 (> 7 B1a, 9 B2, 30 A5, 31 B27) *Theogony*

In truth, first of all Chaos [i.e. Chasm] came to be,
and then
Broad-breasted Earth, the ever immovable seat of all
The immortals who possess snowy Olympus' peak

- 120 Τάρταρά τ' ἡρόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἦδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσιμελῆς, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα
βουλήν.
- 125 ἐκ Χάος δ' Ἐρεβὸς τε μέλαινά τε Νύξ ἐγένοντο
Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἥμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,
οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῃ μιγείσα.
- Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγείνατο ἴσον ἑωυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα
καλύπτει,
ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,
γείνατο δ' οὐρεα μακρά, θεῶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους
130 Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὐρεα βησσήεντα,
ἦδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἴδματι θυῖον,
Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότῃτος ἐφιμέρον αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθείσα τέκ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
135 Θείαν τε Ῥεῖαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν.
τοὺς δὲ μεθ' ὀπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος
ἀγκυλομήτης,
δεινότατος παίδων, θαλερὸν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα.

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

And murky Tartarus in the depths of the broad-
pathed earth,
And Eros, who is the most beautiful among the 120
immortal gods,
The limb-melter—he overpowers the mind and the
thoughtful counsel
Of all the gods and of all human beings in their
breasts.
From Chaos, Erebos and black Night came to be;
And then Aether and Day came forth from Night,
Who conceived and bore them after mingling in love 125
with Erebos.
Earth first of all bore starry Ouranus [i.e. Sky]
Equal to herself, to cover her on every side,
So that there would be an ever immovable seat for
the blessed gods;
And she bore the high mountains, the graceful haunts
of the goddesses,
Nymphs who dwell on the wooded mountains. 130
And she also bore the barren sea seething with its
swell,
Pontus, without delightful love; and then,
Having bedded with Ouranos, she bore deep-eddy
Ocean
And Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus
And Theia and Rhea and Themis and Mnemosyne 135
And golden-crowned Phoebe and lovely Tethys.
After these, Cronus was born, the youngest of all,
crooked-counseled,
The most terrible of her children; and he hated his
vigorous father.

Orphic Texts (T12–T20)
In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)

T12 (≠ DK)

a (10F Bernabé = **DERV. Col. XIV.5–6 + XV.6**)

ὅς μέγ' ἔρεξεν . . .
 Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρώτιστος βασίλευσεν,
 ἐκ τοῦ δὴ Κρόνος αὐτίς, ἔπειτα δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.

b (12F Bernabé = **DERV. Col. XVI.3–6**)

πρωτογόνου βασιλέως αἰδοίου· τῶι δ' ἄρα πάντες
 ἀθάνατοι προσέφυν μάκαρες θεοὶ ἡδὲ θέαιναι
 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρήναι ἐπήρατοι ἄλλα τε πάντα,
 ἄσσα τότε ἦν γεγαῶτ', αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα μῦθος
 ἔγεντο.

c (14F Bernabé) (1 = 31.1F Bernabé + **DERV. Col. XVII.6**; 2 = **DERV. Col. XVII.12**; 3 = 31.5F Bernabé + **DERV. Col. XVIII.1**; 4 = **DERV. Col. XIX.10**)

Ζεὺς πρῶτος <γένετο, Ζεὺς> ὕστατος
 <ἀργικέραννος>
 Ζεὺς κεφα<λή, Ζεὺς μέσ>σα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ <π>άντα
 τέτ<υκται,>
 <Ζεὺς πνοιῇ πάντων, Ζεὺς πάντων ἔπλετο> μοῖρα
 Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς δ' ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων
 ἀργικέραννος.

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

Orphic Texts (T12–T20) *In the Derveni Papyrus (T12)*

T12 (≠ DK)

a

... he who did a great deed . . .
Ouranos, son of Euphrônê [i.e. Night], who was the
first of all to rule,
From him in turn came Cronus and then prudent
Zeus.

b

Of the firstborn king, the reverend one. And upon
him all
The immortals grew, blessed gods and goddesses
And rivers and lovely springs and everything else
That was born then; and he himself was alone.

c

Zeus <was born> first, <Zeus with bright lightning>
last
Zeus is the head, Zeus the middle, and by Zeus all
things <are made>
<Zeus is the breath of all things, Zeus> the fate <of all
things>,
Zeus the king, Zeus the ruler of all, god of the bright
bolt.¹

¹ The sequence of verses and the supplements are due to the editor A. Bernabé and are reproduced here *exempli gratia*. For the way in which these verses are transmitted in the Derveni Papyrus, see the corresponding columns in the chapter **DERV**.

d (16F Bernabé, cf. **DERV. Col. XXIII.4–6, 11**)

<μήσατο δ' αὖ> Γαῖάν <τε καὶ> Οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
 <ὑπερθεν,>
 μήσατο δ' Ὀκεανοῖο μέγα σθένος εὐρὺν ῥέοντος,
 ἵνας δ' ἐγκατέλεξ' Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνεω
 ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα θάλασ<σα>

e (17F Bernabé = **DERV. Col. XXIV.2–3**)

. . . ἰσομελὴς . . .
 ἥ πολλοῖς φαίνει μερόπεσσι ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

*In Orphic Theogonies Reported by
 Later Authors (T13–T20)
 Various Starting Points (T13–T18)*

T13 (< 1 B12) Dam. *Princ.* 124 (3.162.19–23 Westerink)

ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῷ περιπατητικῷ Εὐδήμῳ [Frag. 150 Wehrli]
 ἀναγεγραμμένη ὡς τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὔσα θεολογία [. . .]
 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχὴν [. . .].

T14 (20F, V Bernabé) Io. Lyd. *Mens.* 2.8 (26.1 Wünsch)

[. . .] τρεῖς πρῶται κατ' Ὀρφέα ἐξεβλάστησαν ἀρχαὶ
 τῆς γενέσεως, Νύξ καὶ Γῆ καὶ Οὐρανός [. . .].

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

d

<And he [i.e. Zeus] devised> Earth <and> broad
Ouranos <up above,>
And he devised the great strength of broadly flowing
Ocean,
He placed in it the sinews of silver-eddyng Achelous.
From which the whole sea . . .¹

¹ The same applies here as in the preceding note.

e

. . . equal-limbed . . .
She [i.e. the moon] who shines for many mortals
upon the boundless earth.

*In Orphic Theogonies Reported by
Later Authors (T13–T20)
Various Starting Points (T13–T18)*

T13 (< 1 B12) Damascius, *On the Principles*

The theogony recorded by the Peripatetic Eudemus as being by Orpheus [. . .] it took Night as the starting point [. . .].

T14 (≠ DK) John Lydus, *On the Months*

[. . .] according to Orpheus, three starting points of generation blossomed: Night, Earth, and Sky [. . .].

T15 (< 1 B2) Plat. *Crat.* 402b

Ὠκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλίρροος ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ῥα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθὺν ὄπνιεν.

T16 (< 1 B13) Dam. *Princ.* 123 bis (3.160.17–20 Westerink)

ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον
[. . .] οὕτως ἔχει. ὕδωρ ἦν, φησὶν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὕλη
ἐξ ἧς ἐπάγη ἡ γῆ, δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος
πρώτας [. . .].

T17 (109F, I Bernabé) Procl. *In Crat.* 59.17 Pasquali

[. . .] Ὅρφεὺς τὴν πρώτην πάντων αἰτίαν Χρόνον κα-
λεῖ ὁμωνύμως σχεδὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ [. . .].

T18 (111F Bernabé) Procl. *In Remp.* 2.138.8 Kroll (v. 1–2), *Simpl. In Phys.* 528.14 (v. 3)

Αἰθέρα μὲν Χρόνος οὗτος ἀγήραος, ἀφθιτόμητις
γέιναιτο καὶ μέγα Χάσμα πελώριον ἔνθα καὶ
ἔνθα,
οὐδέ τι πείραρ ὑπῆν, οὐ πυθμὴν, οὐδέ τις ἔδρα.

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

T15 (< 1 B2) Plato, *Cratylus*

Fair-flowing Ocean was the first to make a beginning
of marriage,
He who wedded his sister Tethys, born of the same
mother.¹

¹ Cf. the testimonia collected as 23F Bernabé.

T16 (< 1 B13 DK) Damascius, *On the Principles*

The [scil. theogony] reported by Hieronymus and Hel-
lanicus [...] goes as follows: there was from the beginning
water and the matter out of which the earth was solidified,
[scil. Orpheus?] establishing first of all these two princi-
ples [...].

T17 (≠ DK) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus*

Orpheus calls the first cause of all things Time [*Khronos*],
almost identical in sound with Cronus [*Kronos*].

T18 (≠ DK) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic* (v. 1–2); Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* (v. 3)

This Time, unaging, eternal-counseled, begot Aether
And great Chasm, immense here and immense there,
And there was no limit, no bottom, nor any abode.

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

T19 (103F, V; 104F, I; 115F; 117F Bernabé) Appio ap. Ps.-Clem. Rom. *Homil.*, 6.3.4–4.3

[. . .] ὅπερ Ὀρφεὺς ᾧδὸν λέγει γενητόν, ἐξ ἀπείρου τῆς ὕλης προβεβλημένον, γεγονὸς δὲ οὕτω· τῆς τετραγενοῦς ὕλης ἐμφύχου οὕσης, καὶ ὅλου ἀπείρου τινὸς βυθοῦ ἀεὶ ῥέοντος, καὶ ἀκρίτως φερομένου, καὶ μυρίας ἀτελεῖς κράσεις ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐπαναχέοντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὰς ἀναλύοντος τῇ ἀταξίᾳ, καὶ κεχηνότος ὥς εἰς γένεσιν ζώου δεθῆναι μὴ δυναμένον, συνέβη ποτέ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπείρου πελάγους ὑπὸ ἰδίας φύσεως περιωθουμένου, κινήσει φυσικῇ εὐτάκτως ῥυῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὥσπερ ἱλιγγα καὶ μῖξαι τὰς οὐσίας καὶ οὕτως ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν πάντων τὸ νοστιμώτατον, ὅπερ πρὸς γένεσιν ζώου ἐπιτηδείότατον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν χώνῃ κατὰ μέσου ῥυῆναι τοῦ παντὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πάντα φερούσης ἱλιγγος χωρῆσαι εἰς βάθος καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πνεῦμα ἐπισπασθαι καὶ ὥς εἰς γονιμώτατον συλληφθὲν ποιεῖν κριτικὴν σύστασιν. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὑγρῷ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι πομφόλυξ, οὕτως σφαιροειδὲς πανταχόθεν συνελήφθη κύτος. ἔπειτα αὐτὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κνηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ περιελιγφότος θειώδους πνεύματος ἀναφερόμενον προέκυψεν εἰς φῶς μέγιστόν τι τοῦτο ἀποκύημα, ὥς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ ἀπείρου βυθοῦ ἀποκεκυημένον ἔμφυχον δημιούργημα, καὶ τῇ περιφερείᾳ τῷ ὧ ὧ προσεοικὸς καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς πτήσεως.

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

The Cosmic Egg (T19–T20)

T19 (≠ DK) Appion in Ps.-Clement, *Homilies*

[. . .] the egg that Orpheus says was generated, sent forth from the infinity of matter, and born in the following way: the four-fold matter is animate and a whole infinite abyss is always flowing, which moves in a confused way, inundating each time differently innumerable imperfect mixtures, and for this reason, by reason of its disorder, it dissolves them, and it gapes open as though for the birth of an animal since it cannot be bound; in these circumstances, it happened once that, the infinite sea being impelled by its own nature, it flowed in an orderly manner with a natural motion from itself into itself like a whirlpool and mixed together the substances; and in this way, out of every thing in the universe, the element that was most nutritious and most suitable for the generation of an animal flowed toward the center of the universe, as in a funnel, and proceeded into the depths by the effect of the whirlpool that carries all things; and the surrounding wind was attracted by it and, when it had been assembled in the direction of the most perfect generative element, it produced an organism endowed with discernment. For just as a bubble tends to come about in a liquid, in the same way a spherical container was assembled from all sides. Then, when it had been procreated within itself and was lifted up by the surrounding divine wind, this greatest procreation emerged into the light, like an animate contrivance that emerged from the whole infinite abyss, similar to an egg in its round form and in the speed of its flight.

T20 (114F Bernabé) *Dam. Princ.* 55 (2.40.14 Westerink)

– υ ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος Αἰθέρι δίω
ῶεον ἀργύφειον.

*Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic
Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)*

T21 (< 2 B14, 9 B1) *Philod. Piet.* 137.3–5, pp. 61–62
Gomperz

ἐν μὲν | [τισι]ν ἐκ Νυκτὸς καὶ | [Ταρ]τάρου λέγεται |
[τὰ π]άντα, ἐν δέ τι[σιν] ἐ]ξ Ἄιδου καὶ Αἰ[θέρ]ος· ὁ
δὲ τὴν Τι[τανο]μαχίαν γρά[ψας] ἐξ] Αἰθέρος φη[σίν],
Ἀκουσίλαος | [δ' ἐκ] Χάους πρώτου | [τᾶλ]λα· ἐν δὲ
τοῖς | [ἀνα]φερομένοις εἰς | [Μο]υσαίου γέγραπται |
[Τάρτ]αρον πρῶτον | [καὶ Ν]ύκτα.¹

¹ [καὶ Ν]ύκτα Zeller, cett. Gomperz

T22 (< 9 B1) *Dam. Princ.* 124 (3.163.19–164.8 Westerink)

Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ Χάος μὲν ὑποτίθεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ τὴν
πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὡς πάντη ἄγνωστον, τὰς δὲ δύο μετὰ
τὴν μίαν, Ἑρεβος μὲν τὴν ἄρρενα, τὴν δὲ θήλειαν
Νύκτα [. . .] ἐκ δὲ τούτων φησὶ μιχθέντων Αἰθέρα
γενέσθαι καὶ Ἑρωτα καὶ Μῆτιν [. . .]. παράγει δὲ ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν πολὺν ἀριθμὸν
κατὰ τὴν Εὐδήμου ἱστορίαν [< Frag. 150 Wehrli].

COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

T20 (\neq DK) Damascius, *On the Principles*

then great Time produced for divine Aether
An egg shining like silver.

*Musaeus, Acusilaus, and Other Authors of Archaic
Cosmotheogonies (T21–T22)*

T21 ($<$ 2 B14, 9 B1) Philodemus, *On Piety*

Among some it is said that all things come from Night and Tartarus, among some from Hades and Aether. The author of the *War of the Titans* [i.e. perhaps Eumelus of Corinth] says [scil. that they came from] Aether, Acusilaus [scil. says that] all other things [scil. came] first from Chaos. In the writings attributed to Musaeus it is written that Tartarus and Night were the first.

T22 ($<$ 9 B1) Damascius, *On the Principles*

Acusilaus seems to me to establish Chaos as the first beginning, supposing that it is entirely unknown, and then the two after the one: Erebus the male, and the female Night [. . .]. He says that from these, when they were united, were born Aether, Eros, and Metis [. . .]. And he adds, besides these, also a large number of other gods that came from the same ones, according to the history of Eudemus.

3. REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN [MOR.]

Reflection on the similarities and, especially, the differences between the lives of gods and of human beings dominates Greek thought from the beginning. If the assertions of the early Greek philosophers about the gods and about men are to be understood fully, they need to be seen in relation with their predecessors', of whom (as, too, in the case of cosmological reflection) they take up some themes and formulas but also do not hesitate to distance themselves from other ones, criticizing and polemicizing, sometimes explicitly, against ideas endowed with a very strong cultural authority—just as their precursors themselves had often done.

The present chapter puts together a number of passages on the nature of human and divine life drawn from archaic and Classical Greek poets and traditional prose wisdom literature. It thereby presents one background to the thought of the early Greek philosophers. Some of these texts are of interest as surviving vestiges of kinds of popular thought that must have been widespread in early Greek oral culture but have otherwise been lost; others are presupposed specifically, in content or expression, by a number of the texts classified as belonging to early Greek philosophy and presented in the following chapters. The

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

presence of theological and political patterns is evident everywhere, but it must be emphasized that wisdom literature is echoed interestingly not only among philosophers even before the fifth century BC but also in the ways in which the later tradition depicts philosophers' character and behavior.

In this chapter, as in the ones dedicated to ancient doxography (chap. 1), to the most ancient reflections on the world (chap. 2), and to the echoes of philosophical doctrines found among the Greek dramatists (chap. 43), the critical apparatus for the Greek texts is reduced to a minimum, indicating solely our divergences, if any, from the editions of reference indicated in volume 1. In the case of the Orphic bone tablet and gold leaf (T33–T34), we have not reproduced the diacritical signs that appeared in the original edition. We have limited the bibliographical indications to the Seven Sages.

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REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

The Condition of the Gods (T1–T6)

Zeus (T1–T3)

Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)

The Human Condition (T7–T39)

Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)

Human Time (T10–T13)

Kinds of Human Excellence and Fallibility (T14–T39)

The Varieties of Human Excellence (T14–T16)

Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21)

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*Nature and Consequences of Justice and Injustice
(T22–T34)*

Justice and Injustice in This World (T22–T31)

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Varieties of Human Wisdom (T35–T39)

The Wisdom of the Seven Sages (T35–T38)

Human Wisdom and the Study of Nature (T39)

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

The Condition of the Gods (T1–T6)
Zeus (T1–T3)

T1 (≠ DK) Aesch. Ag. 160–83

[XO.] Ζεύς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ-

τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,

τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω

οὐκ ἔχω προσεικασαί

πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος

165 πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμῳς.

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας,

παμμάχῳ θράσσει βρύων,

170 οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὦν·

ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-

κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων

175 τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν,

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὀδώ-

σαντα, τὸν πάθει μάθος

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

The Condition of the Gods (T1–T6) *Zeus (T1–T3)*

T1 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Zeus, whoever he is, if this is what
pleases him to be called,
I call upon him as this.
For I am not able to compare,
pondering everything,
Except for Zeus, if I am to cast truthfully 165
The futile weight from my thought.

Neither whoever earlier was great,
bursting with all-battling force,
Will be even spoken of as having existed formerly; 170
And as for him who was born later, he is gone,
having encountered a victor.
That man will hit completely upon wisdom
(*phrenes*)
Who eagerly proclaims Zeus victorious— 175

Zeus, who sets men on the path to wisdom (*phro-*
nein),
Who has established the law that learning

θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.
 στάζει δ' ἀνθ' ὕπνου πρὸ καρδίας
 μνησιπήμων πόνος· καὶ παρ' ἄ-
 κοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βίαιος
 σέλημα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

182 δέ που TF, δὲ ποῦ cett. βίαιος Turnebus: βιαίως
 mss.

T2 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Heliad.* Frag. 70 R

Ζεὺς ἐστὶν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός,
 Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα χῶ τι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

T3 (≠ DK) Soph. *Trach.* 1276–78

[ΤΛ.] [. . .] μεγάλους μὲν ἰδοῦσα νέους θανάτους,
 πολλὰ δὲ πῆματα καὶ καινοπαθῆ,
 κούδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεὺς.

Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)

T4 (ad 59 A112) Aesch. *Danaid.* Frag. 44 R

[ΑΦ.] ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
 ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Comes through suffering.
There drips down instead of sleep before the heart
Anguish, mindful of misery; wisdom
Arrives to the unwilling too.
From the deities throned on lofty seat
Comes somehow a grace, violent.

180

T2 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, Fragment from *Daughters of the Sun*

Zeus is the aether, Zeus the earth, Zeus the sky:
Indeed, Zeus is everything, and whatever is beyond
that.

T3 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Trachinian Women*

[HYLLUS TO THE CHORUS:] [. . .] seeing terrible recent
deaths,
And sufferings, many and unprecedented—
And of these things, nothing that is not Zeus.

Aphrodite and Other Divinities (T4–T6)

T4 (ad 59 A112) Aeschylus, Fragment from *The Danaids*

[APHRODITE:] The pure sky desires to penetrate the
earth,
And desire seizes the earth to experience wedlock.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν
 ἔκυσσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
 μῆλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον
 δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν· ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
 τελεῖθ' ὅσ' ἔστι τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος

3 verbi εὐνάεντος forma et significatio valde incertae

T5 (≠ DK) Soph. Frag. 941 R

- ὦ παῖδες, ἥ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,
 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.
 ἔστιν μὲν Ἄιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βίος,
 ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανιάς, ἔστι δ' ἱμερος
 5 ἄκρατος, ἔστ' οἴμωγμός. ἐν κείνῃ τὸ πᾶν
 σπουδαῖον, ἡσυχαῖον, ἐς βίαν ἄγον.
 ἐντήκεται γὰρ πλευμόνων ὅσοις ἔνι
 ψυχῇ· τίς οὐχὶ τῇσδε τῆς θεοῦ πόρος;
 εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτῷ γένει,
 10 ἔνεστι δ' ἐν χέρσου τετρασκελεῖ γονῇ,
 νωμᾷ δ' ἐν οἰωνοῖσι τοῦκείνης πτερόν.
 < . . . >
 ἐν θηρσίν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω.
 τίν' οὐ παλαίους' ἐς τρεῖς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν;
 εἴ μοι θέμις—θέμις δὲ τάληθῇ λέγειν—,
 15 Διὸς τυραννεῖ πλευμόνων, ἄνευ δορός,
 ἄνευ σιδήρου· πάντα τοι συντέμνεται
 Κύπρις τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θεῶν βουλεύματα

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Rain, falling from the well-flowing (?) sky,
Impregnates the earth; and she gives birth for mortals
To pastures for sheep, and Demeter's sustenance
for life [i.e. grain],
And the fruit of trees: from moistening wedlock
Is fulfilled all that exists. Of these things I am part
cause.

T5 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified play

Children, Cypris [i.e. Aphrodite] is not only Cypris,
But her name is equivalent to many names:
She is Hades, she is imperishable life,
She is insane frenzy, she is unmixed
Desire, is lamentation. In her resides all that is 5
Noble, calm, leading to violence.
For she melts into the lungs of all that are
Animate—what resource does not belong to this
goddess?
She enters into the fishes' swimming tribe,
She is located within the land's four-legged offspring, 10
Her wing plies among birds.
< . . . >
Among animals, among mortals, among gods above.
Which of the gods does she not wrestle and
overthrow three times?
If it is lawful for me—and it is lawful to say the
truth—
She is tyrant over Zeus' lungs, without a spear, 15
Without iron. Cypris cuts short
All the plans of mortals and of gods.

T6 (≠ DK) Eur. Frag. 898 K

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅση θεός;
 ἦν οὐδ' ἂν εἴποις οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἂν
 ὅση πέφυκε κἀφ' ὅσον διέρχεται.
 αὕτη τρέφει σὲ κἀμὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς.
 5 τεκμήριον δέ, μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθης·
 ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον
 ἄκαρπον αὐχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ,
 ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος
 10 ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο·
 ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῇτον ἐς ταὐτὸν δύο,
 φύουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα
 δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῇ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

5 post hunc versum hab. mss. ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ
 τῆς θεοῦ, del. Gomperz

The Human Condition (T7–T39)
Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)

T7 (≠ DK) Hom. Il. 24.525–33

525 ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
 ζῶειν ἀχυνμένους· αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσίν.
 δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει
 δώρων οἶα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.
 ᾧ μὲν κ' ἀμμείξας δώῃ Ζεὺς τερπικέραunos,

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T6 (≠ DK) Euripides, Fragment from an unidentified play

Do you not see how great a goddess Aphrodite is?
 You could neither say nor measure
 How great she is by nature, and how far she reaches.
 She nurtures you and me and all mortals.
 Here is evidence, so that you can learn it not only 5
 through words.
 The earth desires rain when the dry soil, 7
 Infertile because of drought, is in need of moisture,
 And the majestic sky, when it is filled
 With rain, desires to fall upon the earth—because of 10
 Aphrodite:
 And when these two are commingled into one and
 the same,
 They generate and nurture for us all the things
 Through which the mortal race lives and flourishes.

The Human Condition (T7–T39) *Men in Their Difference from Gods (T7–T9)*

T7 (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Achilles to Priam:]

For this is how the gods have spun matters for 525
 wretched mortals,
 To live in grief, while they themselves are free of
 care.
 For two urns are set on Zeus' floor,
 Of gifts of the sort he gives, [scil. the one] of evils,
 the other of benefits.
 To whomever thunder-delighting Zeus gives a
 mixture of these,

- 530 ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῶ ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ'
 ἐσθλῶ.
 ᾧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώη, λωβητὸν ἔθηκεν,
 καί ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,
 φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.

T8 (≠ DK) Hom. *Od.*

a 1.31–34

τοῦ ὅ γ' ἐπιμνησθεῖς ἔπε' ἀθανάτοισι μετηΐδα·
 “ὦ πόποι, οἶον δὴ νῦν θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται.
 ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασὶ κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 σφῆσι ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόνον ἄλγ' ἔχουσιν
 [. . .].”

b 18.130–37

- 130 οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο
 πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἔρπει.
 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτέ φησι κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσσω,
 ὅφρ' ἀρετὴν παρέχῃσι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέωσι,
 135 καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετληότι θυμῷ.
 τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
 οἶον ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

That man sometimes meets with evil, and sometimes 530
with good;
But to whomever he gives only of the evils, he treats
that man outrageously,
And evil hunger drives him over the sacred earth,
And he wanders honored neither by gods nor by
mortals.

T8 (≠ DK) Homer, *Odyssey*

a [Zeus to the gods:]

Thinking of him [i.e. Aegisthus] he [i.e. Zeus] spoke
to the immortals:
“Oh for shame, how mortals blame the gods!
For they say that evils come from us, but it is they
themselves too
Who by their own follies get sorrows beyond what is
fated [. . .].”

b [Odysseus to Amphinomeus:]

Earth nourishes nothing weaker than man, 130
Of all the things that breathe and move on the earth;
For he says that he will never suffer evil in the future
So long as the gods give him manliness and his knees
move.
But when the blessed gods fulfill misfortunes too for
him,
These too he bears, sorrowing with an enduring 135
spirit.
For the mind of men upon the earth is such
As the day that the father of gods and men brings
upon them.

T9 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Choe.* 585–602

- 585 [xo.] πολλὰ μὲν γὰ τρέφει
 δεινὰ δειμάτων ἄχῃ,
 πόντια τ' ἀγκάλαι
 κνωδάλων ἀνταίων
 βρύνουσι· βλαστοῦσι καὶ πεδαίχμιοι
 590 λαμπάδες πεδάοροι·
 πτανὰ δὲ καὶ πεδοβάμονα κἀνεμόεντ' ἄν
 αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον·
 ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἄν-
 595 δρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
 καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσίν
 τλαμόνων παντόλμους
 ἔρωτας, ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;
 ξυζύγους δ' ὁμανλίας
 600 θηλυκρατῆς ἀπέρωπος ἔρωσ παρανικᾷ
 κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν.

589 βλαστοῦσι ΣΜ: βλάπτουσι Butler
 Hermann: πτανά τε mss.

591 πτανὰ δὲ

Human Time (T10–T13)

T10 (≠ DK) Soph. OC 607–13, 617–18

- [oi.] [. . .] μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται
 θεοῖσι γῆρας οὐδὲ κατθανεῖν ποτε,

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T9 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *The Libation Bearers*

[CHORUS:] Many are the terrible sufferings of dread 585
 that the earth nurtures,
 And the sea's arms brim
 With hostile beasts;
 And lights blossom, suspended high up
 Between earth and sky; 590
 And winged things and ones that tread the ground
 could also tell of
 The whirlwinds' tempestuous rage.

 But man's over-daring
 thought—who could tell of this, 595
 And of the all-daring lusts of women
 Audacious in their hearts,
 Dwelling together with disasters for mortals?
 Female-ruling implacable passion conquers the 600
 marriages
 Of beasts and of mortals.

Human Time (T10–T13)

T10 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*

[OEDIPUS:] [. . .] it is only for the gods
 That there is no old age nor ever death.

τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατῆς χρό-
νος.

610

φθίνει μὲν ἰσχυρὸς γῆς, φθίνει δὲ σώματος,
θνήσκει δὲ πίστις, βλαστάνει δ' ἀπιστία,
καὶ πνεῦμα ταῦτόν οὔ ποτ' οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν
φίλοις βέβηκεν οὔτε πρὸς πόλιν πόλει.

[. . .] μυρίας ὁ μυρίος
χρόνος τεκνοῦται νύκτας ἡμέρας τ' ἰών [. . .].

T11 (≠ DK) Soph. Aj. 646–49

[AI.] ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται·
κοῦκ ἔστ' ἄελπτον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀλίσκεται
χῶ δεινὸς ὄρκος χαὶ περισκελεῖς φρένες.

T12 (≠ DK) Soph. Frag. 918 R

πάντ' ἐκκαλύπτων ὁ χρόνος εἰς τὸ φῶς ἄγει

T13 (≠ DK) Soph. Hippionous Frag. 301 R

[. . .] ὥς ὁ πάνθ' ὀρώων
καὶ πάντ' ἀκούων πάντ' ἀναπτύσσει χρόνος

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

All others things all-mastering Time overwhelms.
The earth's strength withers, the body's withers, 610
Trust dies, distrust blossoms,
And the spirit never continues the same, neither
among men
Who are friends nor for one city to another one.
[. . .] countless time
Fathers countless nights and days as it proceeds
[. . .].

T11 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Ajax*

[AJAX:] Lengthy and unnumbered time makes
All unseen things grow and conceals them once re-
vealed;
And there is nothing so unexpected, but they are
caught fast,
Fearsome oath and rigid resolutions.

T12 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified
play

Time, uncovering all things, brings them to light.

T13 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from *Hipponous*

[. . .] for time, which sees all
and hears all, unfolds all things.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Kinds of Human Excellence and Fallibility (T14–T39)

The Varieties of Human Excellence (T14–T16)

T14 (≠ DK) Hom. *Il.* 11.784

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων
[. . .].

T15 (≠ DK) Hom. *Od.*

a 8.167–71, 174–75

οὕτως οὐ πάντεσσι θεοὶ χαρίεντα διδοῦσιν
ἀνδράσιν, οὔτε φνὴν οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτ'
ἀγορητύν.

170 ἄλλος μὲν γάρ τ' εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ,
ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεσι στέφει· οἱ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν
τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν [. . .].

175 ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
ἀλλ' οὔ οἱ χάρις ἀμφὶ περιστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν
[. . .].

b 9.5–11

5 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
ἢ ὅτ' ἐνφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ
ἤμενοι ἐξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

*Kinds of Human Excellence and
Fallibility (T14–T39)
The Varieties of Human Excellence (T14–T16)*

T14 (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Peleus to his son Achilles:]

Always to be the best and to be superior to the others
[. . .].

T15 (≠ DK) Homer, *Odyssey*

a [Odysseus to Euryalus:]

The gods do not give delightful things to all men in
the same way,
Neither bodily shape nor intelligence nor eloquence.
For one man is weak in his appearance,
But the god garlands his words with beauty, and upon 170
him
Men look with delight [. . .]
And then another is similar to the gods in his
appearance,
But no delight is set as a garland upon his words 175
[. . .].

b [Odysseus to Alcinous:]

I think that no fulfillment (*telos*) is more delightful 5
Than when festivity holds sway over all the people,
And banqueters throughout the rooms listen to a
bard
While they sit next to one another, and beside them
the tables are full

- 10 σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσω
οἰνοχόος φορέησι καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσι·
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται εἶναι.

c 11.489–91

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλω,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοςτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσι νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

T16 (≠ DK) Sapph. Frag. 16.1–4

οἴ μὲν ἱππήων στρότον, οἱ δὲ πέσδων,
οἱ δὲ νάων φαῖσ' ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν
ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν' ὄτ-
τω τις ἔραται.

Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21)
Poetry and Truth (T17–T19)

T17 (> ad 3 B1) Hes. Th. 26–28

ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,
ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Of bread and meats, and drawing wine from the
mixing bowl
The cup-bearer carries it about and pours it into their cups. 10
This seems in my mind to be the loveliest thing.

- c [The shade of dead Achilles to Odysseus:]
I would prefer to work the earth laboring for another
man,
Some man without his own land, who did not have a
lot to live on,
Then to lord it over all the perished dead.

T16 (≠ DK) Sappho, Fragment

Some say that a host of horsemen, others one of
footsoldiers,
Others one of ships, is the most beautiful thing
On the black earth: but I say it is that thing, whatever
it is,
That one loves.

Uses and Abuses of Human Language (T17–T21) *Poetry and Truth (T17–T19)*

T17 (> ad 3 B1) Hesiod, *Theogony* [The Muses to the shepherd Hesiod:]

Field-dwelling shepherds, ignoble disgraces, mere
bellies:
We know how to say many false things (*pseudea*)
similar to genuine ones (*etuma*),
But we know, when we wish, how to proclaim true
things (*alêthea*).

T18 (≠ DK) Solon Frag. 29

πολλὰ ψεύδονται αἰδοί

T19 (≠ DK) Pind. *Nem.* 7.20–24

ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι
 λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν
 διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπῇ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον·
 ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσσι οἱ ποτανᾶ τε μαχανᾶ
 σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι σοφία
 δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει
 ἦτορ ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος.

The Power of Persuasion (T20–T21)

T20 (≠ DK) Aesch. *Ag.* 385–86

[χο.] βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα Πειθώ,
 προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος Ἄτας.

T21 (≠ DK) Soph. Frag. 865 R

δεινὸν τὸ τᾶς Πειθοῦς πρόσωπον

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T18 (≠ DK) Solon, Fragment from a poem probably in elegiac couplets

Poets tell many lies.

T19 (≠ DK) Pindar, *Nemeans*

I myself believe
That Odysseus' story is greater than his suffering
Because of sweet-songed Homer,
For on his lies (*pseudesi*) and winged craft (*mākhanā*)
There resides a sort of majesty; and skill (*sophia*)
Deceives, misleading with stories. And the great
swarm
Of men possess a blind heart [. . .].

The Power of Persuasion (T20–T21)

T20 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Wretched Persuasion commits violence,
The unendurable child of counseling Madness.

T21 (≠ DK) Sophocles, Fragment from an unidentified play

Awe-inspiring is Persuasion's face.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Nature and Consequences of Justice and Injustice (T22–T34)

Justice and Injustice in This World (T22–T31)

T22 (≠ DK) Hom. *Il.* 18.497–508

λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
ὠρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινηῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένον. ὃ μὲν ἤϋχετο πάντ'
ἀποδοῦναι

500 δῆμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ' ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι·
ἄμφω δ' ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἵστορι πείραρ ἐλέσθαι.
λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπνον ἀμφὶς ἀρωγοί·
κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτνον. οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἶατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ,
505 σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ' ἔχον ἡεροφάνων·
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἥϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἐδίκαζον.
κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύνω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῷ δόμεν, ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Nature and Consequences of Justice and Injustice (T22–T34)

Justice and Injustice in This World (T22–T31)

T22 (≠ DK) Homer, *Iliad* [Description of a scene on the shield Hephaestus makes for Achilles:]

The people were gathered in the marketplace; there
a quarrel

Had arisen, and two men were quarreling over the
blood price

For a man who had been killed. The one man swore
he had paid back everything,

Speaking to the people, but the other refused to 500
accept [or: denied that he had received] anything
at all;

And both were going for an arbitrator, to win the
decision.

People were cheering both men, to help each of
them.

But heralds held the people back, and the elders
Were sitting on polished stones in a sacred circle,
Holding in their hands the staves of the loud-voiced 505
heralds.

They sprang up with these, and gave judgment in
turns.

And amidst them there lay on the ground two talents
of gold,

To be given to the one among them who spoke the
straightest judgment.

T23 (\neq DK) Hes. *Th.*

a 881–85

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα πόνον μάκαρες θεοὶ ἐξετέλεσαν,
Τιτήνεσσι δὲ τιμῶν κρίναντο βίηφι,
δὴ ῥα τότε ὥτρυνον βασιλεύεμεν ἥδ' ἀνάσσειν
Γαίης φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλύμπιον εὐρύοπα Ζῆν
ἀθανάτων· ὁ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐν διεδάσσατο τιμᾶς.

b 901–3

δεύτερον ἡγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὀρας,
Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
αἷ τ' ἔργ' ὠρέουσι καταθηγητοῖσι βροτοῖσι [. . .].

T24 (\neq DK) Hes. *Op.* 225–31, 238–55

- 225 οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
ἰθείας καὶ μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθέουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ
Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῖς
ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς·
230 οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκησι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ
οὐδ' ἄτη, θαλίσ δὲ μεμηλότα ἔργα νέμονται.
[. . .]

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T23 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Theogony*

a

But when the blessed gods had completed their toil,
And by force had reached a settlement with the
 Titans regarding honors,
Then by the counsels of Earth they urged Olympian
 far-seeing Zeus
To become king and to rule over the immortals;
And he divided their honors well for them.

b

Second [scil. after Intelligence (*Mêtis*)], he [i.e. Zeus]
 married bright Ordinance (*Themis*), who gave
 birth to the Seasons (*Hôrai*),
Lawfulness (*Eunomia*) and Justice (*Dikê*) and
 blooming Peace (*Eirênê*),
Who care for the works of mortal human beings [. . .].

T24 (≠ DK) Hesiod, *Works and Days*

But those who give straight judgments to foreigners 225
 and fellow citizens
And do not turn aside from justice at all,
Their city blooms and the people in it flower.
For them, Peace, the nurse of the young, is on the
 earth,
And far-seeing Zeus never marks out painful war;
Nor does famine attend straight-judging men, 230
Nor calamity, but they share out in festivities the
 fruits of the labors they care for.
[. . .]

οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα
Ζεὺς.

- 240 πολλὰκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλιν κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἀπηύρα,
ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται.
τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων,
λιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·
οὐδὲ γυναικες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι
245 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλυμπίον· ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τείχος
ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ Κρονίδης ἀποτείννται αὐτῶν.
- ὦ βασιλῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ καταφράζεσθε καὶ αὐτοί
τῇδε δίκην· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐόντες
250 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται, ὅσοι σκολιῇσι δίκησιν
ἀλλήλους τρίβουσι θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.
τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
οἳ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
255 ἡέρα ἐσσύμενοι, πάντα φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.

T25 (≠ DK) Solon

a Frag. 4.1–8, 30–39

ἡμετέρῃ δὲ πόλιν κατὰ μὲν Διὸς οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

But to those who care only for evil outrageousness
 and cruel deeds,
 Far-seeing Zeus, Cronus' son, marks out justice.
 Often even a whole city suffers because of an evil 240
 man
 Who sins and devises wicked deeds.
 Upon them, Cronus' son brings forth woe from the
 sky,
 Famine together with pestilence, and the people die
 away;
 The women do not give birth, and the household are
 diminished
 By the cunning of Olympian Zeus. And at another 245
 time
 Cronus' son destroys their broad army or their wall,
 Or he takes vengeance upon their ships on the sea.
 As for you kings, too, ponder this justice yourselves.
 For among human beings there are immortals nearby,
 Who take notice of all those who with crooked 250
 judgments
 Grind one another down and have no care for the
 gods' retribution.
 Thrice ten thousand are Zeus' immortal guardians
 Of mortal human beings upon the bounteous earth,
 And they watch over judgments and cruel deeds,
 Clad in invisibility, walking everywhere upon the 255
 earth.

T25 (≠ DK) Solon, Elegiac poems

a

Our city will never be destroyed through the fate of
 Zeus

αἶσαν καὶ μακάρων θεῶν φρένας ἀθανάτων·
 τοίη γὰρ μεγάλθυμος ἐπίσκοπος ὀβριμοπάτρη
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη χεῖρας ὑπερθεν ἔχει·
 5 αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρουν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίησιν
 ἀστοὶ βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμον θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν
 [. . .]

30 ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει,
 ὥς κακὰ πλείστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει·
 Εὐνομίη δ' εὖκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει,
 καὶ θαμὰ τοῖς ἀδίκους ἀμφιτίθησι πέδας·
 τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἀμαυροῖ,
 35 αὐαίνει δ' ἄτης ἄνθεα φύόμενα,
 εὐθύνει δὲ δίκας σκολιάς, ὑπερήφανά τ' ἔργα
 πραῦνει· παύει δ' ἔργα διχοστασίης,
 παύει δ' ἀργαλέης ἔριδος χόλον, ἔστι δ' ὑπ'
 αὐτῆς
 πάντα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἄρτια καὶ πινυτά.

b Frag. 13.16–17, 25–32

οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει,
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς πάντων ἐφορᾷ τέλος [. . .].

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Or the intentions of the blessed immortal gods;
For such a great-hearted guardian, Pallas Athena,
Born of a mighty father, holds her hands over it.
But the citizens themselves are willing, by their 5
follies

And obedience to money, to destroy this great city,
And unjust is the mind of the people's leaders, for
whom it is made ready

That they will suffer many pains because of their
great arrogance (*hybris*).

[. . .]

This my heart bids me teach the Athenians: 30

That Lawlessness (*Dysnomia*) gives the city
countless evils,

But Lawfulness (*Eunomia*) makes all things ordered
and well-fitting,

And often puts fetters on the unjust.

She smoothes the rough, stops excess, weakens
arrogance,

Withers the blooming flowers of disaster, 35
Straightens crooked judgments, softens arrogant
deeds,

And stops acts of civil strife,

And stops the anger of evil contention. Under her
All things among men are well-fitting and wise.

b

For the works of arrogance do not last long for
mortals.

No, Zeus looks upon the outcome of all things [. . .].

- 25 τοιαύτη Ζηνὸς πέλεται τίσις· οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστω
 ὥσπερ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ γίγνεται ὀξύχολος,
 αἰεὶ δ' οὐ ἐλέληθε διαμπερές, ὅστις ἀλιτρόν
 θυμὸν ἔχει, πάντως δ' ἐς τέλος ἐξεφάνη·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτίκ' ἔτεισεν, ὁ δ' ὕστερον· οἱ δὲ
 φύγωσιν
- 30 αὐτοὶ, μῆδὲ θεῶν μοῖρ' ἐπιούσα κίχῃ,
 ἤλυθε πάντως αὖτις· ἀναίτιοι ἔργα τίνουσιν
 ἢ παῖδες τούτων ἢ γένος ἐξοπίσω.

c Frag. 9.1–4

ἐκ νεφέλης πέλεται χιόνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης,
 βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρῆς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς·
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, ἐς δὲ
 μονάρχου
 δῆμος αἰδρίῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

d Frag. 12

ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἦν δέ τις
 αὐτήν
 μὴ κινῇ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

T26 (≠ DK) Theogn.

a 197–208

χρῆμα δ' ὃ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ
 γένηται

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Such is the vengeance of Zeus: he is not quick to 25
 anger,
 Like a mortal man, at everything,
But whoever has a wicked heart does not ever escape
 his notice
 And in the end certainly he is exposed.
But one man pays immediately, another later, and
 those who themselves escape
 And the gods' pursuing destiny does not catch 30
 them,
It certainly comes at some other time; the innocent
 pay for their deeds,
 Either their children or their descendants later.

c

From a cloud comes the force of the snow and hail,
 And thunder is born from brilliant lightning;
From great men comes a city's destruction, and in its
 foolishness
 The people fall under the slavery of a monarch.

d

From winds comes the sea's agitation; but if
 It is not stirred up, it is the most just of all things.

T26 (≠ DK) Theognis, Elegiac poems

a

A possession that comes to a man from Zeus, and
 with justice

- καὶ καθαρῶς, αἰεὶ παρμόνιμον τελέθει
 εἰ δ' ἀδίκως παρὰ καιρὸν ἀνὴρ φιλοκερδέει θυμῷ
 200 κτήσεται, εἴθ' ὄρκῳ παρ τὸ δίκαιον ἐλών,
 αὐτίκα μὲν τι φέρειν κέρδος δοκεῖ, ἐς δὲ τελευτήν
 αὔθις ἔγεντο κακόν, θεῶν δ' ὑπερέσχε νόος.
 ἀλλὰ τάδ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπατᾷ νόον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ
 205 τίνονται μάκαρες πρήγματος ἀμπλακίας,
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔτεισε κακὸν χρέος, οὐδὲ
 φίλοισιν
 ἄτην ἐξοπίσω παισὶν ἐπεκρέμασεν
 ἄλλον δ' οὐ κατέμαρψε δίκη· θάνατος γὰρ
 ἀναιδής
 πρόσθεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις ἔζητο κῆρα φέρων.

b 731–36, 741–52

- Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν
 ἀλιτροῖς
 ὕβριν ἀδεῖν, καί σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον
 θυμῷ, σχέτλια ἔργα· μετὰ φρεσὶ δ' ὅστις
 †ἀθήνης
 ἐργάζοιτο, θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος,
 735 αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τείσαι κακά, μηδ' ἔτ' ὀπίσσω
 πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίας παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν·
 [. . .]
 741 ταῦτ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς φίλα· νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν
 ἔρδων
 ἐκφεύγει, τὸ κακὸν δ' ἄλλος ἔπειτα φέρει.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

And purely, lasts forever;
But if a man acquires it unjustly, unduly, with a
greedy spirit,
Or seizes it by an oath against what is just, 200
At first he thinks he is getting a profit, but in the end
It turns out badly, and the mind (*noos*) of the gods
overcomes him.
But these things deceive the minds of men, for it is
not at the very moment
That the blessed gods punish an act of sinfulness,
But one man pays his evil debt himself, and does not 205
hang destruction
Over his own children later;
While another one is not overtaken by justice, since
ruthless death
Settles first on his eyelids, bringing him doom.

b

Father Zeus, if only it pleased the gods that
outrageous arrogance (*hybris*)
Delighted sinners and that this pleased them
In their hearts: wicked deeds; but that whoever acted
in their minds †. . . †,
Without any regard for the gods,
Would then pay an evil penalty himself, and that evil 735
later
Would not come about for children by their
father's sins. [. . .]
If only this pleased the blessed gods! But as it is, the 741
perpetrator
Gets away, and then another man gets misery.

- καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστὶ δίκαιον,
 ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,
 745 μήτιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων μήθ' ὄρκον ἀλιτρόν,
 ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐὼν, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;
 τίς δὴ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος ὁρῶν πρὸς τοῦτον
 ἔπειτα
 ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους, καὶ τίνα θυμὸν ἔχων,
 ὀππότ' ἀνὴρ ἄδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, οὔτε τευ
 ἀνδρός
 750 οὔτε τευ ἀθανάτων μῆνιν ἀλευόμενος,
 ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
 τρύχονται χαλεπῇ τειρόμενοι πενίῃ;

T27 (≠ DK) Pind.

a Frag. 169a.1–5

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς
 θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
 ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
 ὑπερτάτῃ χειρί. τεκμαίρομαι
 ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος [. . .].

b Frag. 213

πότερον δίκῃ τείχος ὕψιον
 ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις ἀναβαίνει
 ἐπιχθόνιον γένος ἀνδρῶν,
 δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.

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And this, king of the immortals: how is it just
That a man who keeps away from unjust deeds
And does not commit any transgression or a wicked 745
oath,
But is just, suffers unjustly?
What other mortal, looking upon him, would then
Revere the immortals? What spirit would he have,
Whenever an unjust and wicked man, who does not
avoid the wrath
Of any man or of any of the deathless gods, 750
Commits an outrage, sated in wealth, while the just
Are worn out and wasted away by harsh poverty?

T27 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragments

a

Law (*nomos*), king of all,
Of mortals and of immortals,
Leads them, rendering the greatest violence just
By his supreme hand. I cite as witness
Heracles' deeds [. . .].

b

Whether the race of men on the earth
Ascends the loftier wall by means of justice
or by crooked deceits—
my mind is divided in saying this precisely.

T28 (≠ DK) Aesch. Ag. 250

[xo.] Δίκη δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει
[. . .].

T29 (≠ DK) Aesch. Eum.

a 517–37

[xo.] ἔσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν εὖ,

καὶ φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον

δεῖμ' ἄνω καθήμενον·

520 ξυμφέρει

σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.

τίς δὲ μῆδεν ἐν †φάει†

καρδίας δέος τρέφων—

525 ἢ πόλις, βροτός θ' ὁμοί-
ως—ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι Δίκαν;

μήτ' ἀναρκτον βίον

μήτε δεσποτούμενον

αἰνέσης.

530 παντὶ μέσφ' τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὥπασεν,

ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει.

ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω·

535 δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως,

ἐκ δ' ὑγιείας

φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος

καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T28 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*

[CHORUS:] Justice weighs out learning to those
who suffer [. . .].

T29 (≠ DK) Aeschylus, *Eumenides*

a

[CHORUS:] Sometimes terror is good,
And, a sentinel for minds,
Dread, seated on high (?):
There is a benefit 520
In wisdom coming with duress.
For he who does not at all nourish
His heart's dread in †light†—
Either a city, or a mortal in the same
Way—would still revere justice? 525

Neither the life without a ruler
Nor the one under a despot
Should you praise.
To all in the middle a god 530
Has granted strength, though he oversees
Differently in different places.
I speak an appropriate word:
In truth, arrogant violence
Is impiety's child;
But from health 535
Of the mind comes all-loving
And all-invoked prosperity.

b 696–702

[AΘ.] τὸ μήτ' ἀναρχον μήτε δεσποτούμενον
 ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλευώ σέβειν,
 καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν·
 τίς γὰρ δεδοικῶς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;
 τοιόνδε τοι ταρβοῦντες ἐνδίκως σέβας
 ἔρυμα τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον
 ἔχουσιν ἄν, οἷον οὔτις ἀνθρώπων ἔχει [. . .].

T30 (31 B135) *Soph. Ant.* 450–60

[AN.] οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,
 οὐδ' ἡ ξύννοικος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη
 τοιούσδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὥρισεν νόμους,
 οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον ὥοιμην τὰ σὰ
 κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κασφαλῇ θεῶν
 455 νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητά γ' ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν.
 οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε καχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
 ζῇ ταῦτα, κοῦδεις οἶδεν ἔξ ὅτου 'φάνη.
 τούτων ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενὸς
 φρόνημα δείσας, ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην
 δώσειν.

b

[ATHENA:] Neither absence of a ruling power nor submission to an absolute master—

This is what I advise the citizens to defend and to revere,

And not to cast fear altogether from the city.

For what mortal who fears nothing is just?

If you fear justly the object of such a veneration

You will have protection for your country and salvation for your city

Such as no one among men possesses [. . .].

T30 (31 B135) Sophocles, *Antigone*

[ANTIGONE:] For me, it was not Zeus who made that [i.e. Creon's] proclamation,

Nor did Justice, who dwells with the gods below,

Stipulate such laws to be valid among humans;

Nor did I suppose that your proclamations were so strong

That they, being mortal, could outrun

The unwritten and immovable ordinances of the gods. 455

For they are not of now and of yesterday, but for all eternity

Do they live, and no one knows when they appeared.

So I was not, out of fear of any man's spirit,

Going to make myself liable to the gods because of them.

T31 (≠ DK) Soph. OT 863–96

- [XO.] εἴ μοι ξυνείη φέροντι μοῖρα τὰν
 εὔσεπτον ἀγνείαν λόγων
 865 ἔργων τε πάντων, ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται
 ὑψίποδες, οὐρανία ἔν
 αἰθέρι τεκνωθέντες, ὧν Ὀλυμπος
 πατήρ μόνος, οὐδέ νιν
 θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων
 870 ἔτικτεν, οὐδὲ μήποτε λά-
 θα κατακοιμάσῃ
 μέγας ἐν τούτοις θεός, οὐδὲ γηράσκει.
- ὑβρις φυτεύει τύραννον· ὑβρις, εἰ
 πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῇ μάταν
 875 ἂ μὴ ἑπίκαιρα μηδὲ συμφέροντα,
 ἀκρότατα γείσῃ ἀναβᾶσ'
 ἀπότομον ὥρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν,
 ἔνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ
 880 χρῆται. τὸ καλῶς δ' ἔχον
 πόλει πάλαισμα μήποτε λυ-
 σαι θεὸν αἰτοῦμαι
 θεὸν οὐ λήξω ποτὲ προστάταν ἴσχων.
- εἰ δέ τις ὑπέροπτα χερσὶν
 ἢ λόγῳ πορεύεται,
 885 Δίκας ἀφόβητος, οὐδὲ
 δαιμόνων ἔδη σέβων,
 κακά νιν ἔλοιτο μοῖρα,

T31 (≠ DK) Sophocles, *Oedipus the Tyrant*

- [CHORUS:] May my destiny help me
 To practice reverent purity in words
 And in all deeds for which the laws are fixed 865
 Standing on high, sired in
 The heavenly aether, those of which Olympus
 Alone is father, nor did
 Men's mortal nature
 Father them, nor will oblivion ever put them to 870
 sleep:
 For in them god is great and never does he grow
 old.
- Arrogance (*hubris*) makes a tyrant grow—
 Arrogance, if it is overfull of many things in vain,
 Inopportune, unprofitable, 875
 Climbing up to the roof-top it plunges into sheer
 necessity,
 Where it finds no useful footing. But the contention
 That is good for the city—I pray that god never 880
 destroy that.
- For never will I cease to hold a god as our protector.
 If someone proceeds overweening in hands or
 word,
 Unintimidated by Justice nor revering the deities' 885
 shrines—
 May an evil destiny catch him
 Because of his ill-fortuned luxury,

- 890 δυσπότημον χάριν χλιδᾶς,
εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως
καὶ τῶν ἀσέπτων ἔρξεται,
ἢ τῶν ἀθίκτων θίξεται ματᾶζων.
τίς ἔτι ποτ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ θυμοῦ βέλη
εὔξεται ψυχᾶς ἀμύνειν;
895 εἰ γὰρ αἱ τοιαίδε πράξεις τίμιαί,
τί δεῖ με χορεύειν;

894 εὔξεται Musgrave: ἔρξεται mss.: τεύξεται Hölscher

The Afterlife (T32–T34)

T32 Pind.

a (> ad 31 B146) *Ol.* 2.53–54, 56–77

- ὁ μὰν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος
φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν
καιρὸν βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν
[. . .].
εἰ δέ νυν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον,
ὅτι θανόντων μὲν ἐν-
θάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένες
ποινὰς ἔτεισαν—τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ
ἀλιτρὰ κατὰ γᾶς δικάζει τις ἐχθρᾷ
60 λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκῃ.
ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεῖ,
ἴσαις δ' ἀμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

If he does not acquire profit justly
Nor refrains from irreverence 890
Or in his folly lays hand on things untouchable.
Among such people, what man will boast
That he wards off the gods' shafts from his breast?
For if these are the kinds of practices that are held 895
in honor,
Why need I dance [scil. at the festivals of the gods]?

The Afterlife (T32–T34)

T32 Pindar

a (> ad 31 B146) *Olympians*

Wealth ornamented by virtues
brings the occasion for some things and for others,
Repressing down deep fierce anxiety [. . .].
If someone who possesses it knows what is to
come,
That of those who have died here
the helpless spirits (*phrenes*) immediately
Pay the penalty—and for the sins in this realm of
Zeus
Someone passes judgment below the earth,
Speaking with hateful necessity; 60
But always possessing the sunlight in equal nights
And in equal days, good men receive

ἔσλοὶ δέκονται βίοτον, οὐ χθόνα τα-
 ράσσοντες ἐν χερὸς ἀκμῇ
 οὐδὲ πόντιον ὕδωρ

65 κεινὰν παρὰ δίαίταν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίους
 θεῶν οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις
 ἄδακρυν νέμονται
 αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον.

ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐστρίς
 ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
 70 ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρό-
 νου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
 νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
 αὔραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
 τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων,
 ὕδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει,
 ὄρμοισι τῶν χέρας ἀναπλέκοντι καὶ στεφάνους

75 βουλαῖς ἐν ὀρθαῖσι Ῥαδαμάνθυνος,
 ὃν πατήρ ἔχει μέγας ἐτοῖμον αὐτῷ πάρεδρον,
 πόσις ὁ πάντων Ῥέας
 ὑπέρτατον ἐχοίσας θρόνον.

b (≠ DK) Frag. 131a

ὄλβιοι δ' ἅπαντες αἴσα λυσιπόνων τελετᾶν.

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

A life free of toil, not worrying
the earth nor the sea's water with the might of
their hands
For a meager living; but instead, beside those 65
honored
By the gods, those who rejoiced in good oaths
pass a tearless
Existence, while the others endure pain impossible to
look upon.

But all those who have managed, staying three times
In both places, to keep their soul away from all
injustices,
They travel the road of Zeus to Cronus' 70
tower; there around the Island
Of the Blessed blow the ocean winds, and flowers of
gold blaze,
Some on the ground from gleaming trees,
while water nourishes others,
They weave garlands for their hands and crowns

In the straight decrees of Rhadamanthys, 75
Whom the great father keeps seated ready beside
him,
The husband of Rhea, who possesses the loftiest
throne of all.

b (≠ DK) Fragment

Blessed [scil. are] all those who have a share in the rites
that release from toil.

c (≠ DK) Frag. 131b

σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἶδω-
λον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν· εὖδει δὲ πρᾶσσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ εὖ-
δόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνείροις
δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφέρποισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν.

d (ad 31 B146) Frag. 133

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποιναὶν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺς ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτει
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν, ἐκ τῶν βασιλῆες ἀγανοὶ
καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφία τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὖξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥροες ἀ-
γνοὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καλέονται.

e (≠ DK) Frag. 137

ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κείν' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόν'·
οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν,
οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν.

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c (≠ DK) Fragment

The body of all men obeys overwhelming death,
But a living image of the vital force (*aiôn*) still
 remains:
 for that alone
Comes from the gods. It sleeps while the limbs are
 acting,
 but to men as they sleep, in many dreams
It reveals the approaching choice of delights or of
 pains.

d (> 31 B146) Fragment

For those from whom Persephone accepts requital
For her ancient grief [scil. the murder of her son
 Dionysus by the Titans], in the ninth year she
 sends
Their souls back up to the upper sun; from them rise
 up noble kings
And men quick in strength and those who are
 greatest in wisdom,
And for the rest of time they are called
 Sacred heroes by men.

e (≠ DK) Fragment

Blessed is he who sees them [i.e. the Eleusinian
 mysteries] and then goes beneath the earth;
 he knows the end of life
And knows too its god-given beginning.

T33 (≠ DK) Lamellae osseae saec. V a. Chr. Olbiae repertae

a Frag. 463 T Bernabé

βίος, θάνατος, βίος
ἀλήθεια
Διό(νυσος) Ὀρφικοί

b Frag. 464 T Bernabé

εἰρήνη πόλεμος
ἀλήθεια ψεύδος
Διόν(υσος)

c Frag. 465 T Bernabé

Διόν(υσος)
<ψεύδος> ἀλήθεια
σῶμα ψυχή
<ψεύδος> Vinogradov

T34 (cf. 1 B17–20) Lamella aurea ca. 400 a. C. n. Hipponii reperta (Frag. 474 F Bernabé)

Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἔργον. ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι
θανεῖσθαι
εἰς Ἀίδαο δόμους εὐήρεας, ἔστ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κρήνα,
παρ δ' αὐτὰν ἑστακῶα λευκὰ κυπάρισσος·

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

T33 (≠ DK) Bone tablets from Olbia, 5th century BC

a

life death life
truth
Dion(ysus) Orphic men

b

peace war
truth falsehood [or: lie]
Dion(ysus)

c

Dion(ysus)
<falsehood [or: lie]> truth
body soul

T34 (cf. 1 B17–20) Orphic gold leaf from Hipponion, ca. 400 BC

This is the work of Mnemosyne [i.e. the goddess of memory]: when you [i.e. the initiate] are about to die

Into the well-constructed houses of Hades, there is
on the right a spring,
And beside it standing a white cypress;

- 5 ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχὰι νεκύων ψύχονται.
 ταύτας τὰς κράνας μὴδὲ σχεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθης.
 πρόσθεν δὲ εὐρήσεις τὰς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ
 λίμνας
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δὲ ἐπύπερθεν
 ἔασι.
 οἳ δέ σε εἰρήσονται ἐνὶ φρασὶ πευκαλίμασι
 ὅτι δὴ ἐξερέεις Ἄιδος σκότος ὀρφνήεντος.
 10 εἶπον· “Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
 δίψαι δ’ εἰμ’ αὖτος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ’ ὦκα
 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πίνειν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ
 λίμνης.”
 καὶ δὴ τοι ἐρέουσιν ὑποχθονίῳ βασιλείᾳ·
 καὶ δώσουσι πιεῖν τὰς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
 15 καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ πίων ὁδὸν ἔρχεαι ἄν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
 μύσται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερὰν στείχουσι κλεεινοί.

Varieties of Human Wisdom (T35–T39)
The Wisdom of the Seven Sages (T35–T38)

T35 (10.3) Demetr. Phal. in Stob. 3.1.172 (= Frag. 114 Wehrli)

[1] Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος ἔφη·

1. μέτρον ἄριστον. 2. πατέρα δεῖ αἰδεῖσθαι. 3. εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν. 4. φιλήκοον εἶναι

REFLECTIONS ON GODS AND MEN

Going down there, the souls (*psukhai*) of the dead
cool off (*psukhontai*).

Do not go anywhere even near these springs. 5

Further on you will find cold water that flows forth
From the pool of Mnemosyne. There are guards set
over it.

They will ask you, in their wise minds,
Why you are exploring the shadow of gloomy Hades.
Say: "I am a son of Earth and of starry Sky. 10
I am parched with thirst and am being destroyed.

Come, give quickly
Cold water to drink from the pool of Mnemosyne."
And they will announce you to the queen under the
earth,

And they will give you to drink from the pool of
Mnemosyne;
And then you too, after you have drunk, will go on 15
the holy road where the others,
Initiates and Bacchants, walk in glory.

Varieties of Human Wisdom (T35–T39) *The Wisdom of the Seven Sages (T35–T38)*

T35 (10.3) Demetrius of Phalerum, *Apophthegms of the Seven Sages*, in Stobaeus

[1] Cleobulus of Lindus, son of Euagoras, said:

1. Measure is best. 2. Revere your father. 3. Be well
in body and in soul. 4. Enjoy listening and don't talk

καὶ μὴ πολύλαλον. 5. πολυμαθῇ¹ ἢ ἀμαθῇ. 6. γλῶσσαν εὐφημον κεκτηῖσθαι. 7. ἀρετῆς οἰκεῖον,² κακίας ἀλλότριον. 8. ἀδικίαν μισεῖν. 9. εὐσέβειαν φυλάσσειν. 10. πολίταις τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. 11. ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν. 12. βία μηδὲν πράττειν. 13. τέκνα παιδεύειν. 14. τύχῃ εὐχεσθαι. 15. ἔχθρας διαλύειν. 16. τὸν τοῦ δήμου ἐχθρὸν πολέμιον νομίζειν. 17. γυναικὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ ἄγαν φρονεῖν ἀλλοτρίων παρόντων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοιαν, τὸ δὲ μανίαν δύναται παρέχειν. 18. οἰκέτας μεθύοντας μὴ κολάζειν· εἰ δὲ μή, δόξεις παροινεῖν. 19. γαμεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κρειττόνων, δεσπότας, οὐ συγγενεῖς κτήσῃ. 20. μὴ ἐπιγέλα τῷ σκώπτοντι ἀπεχθῆς γὰρ ἔσῃ τοῖς σκωπτομένοις. 21. εὐποροῦντα μὴ υπερήφανον εἶναι, ἀποροῦντα μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι.

¹ πολυμαθῇ μάλλον Diog. Laert. 1.92
ναι> Hense

² οἰκεῖον <εἰ-

[2] Σόλων Ἐξηκεστίδου Ἀθηναῖος ἔφη·

1. μηδὲν ἄγαν. 2. κριτῆς μὴ κάθησο· εἰ δὲ μή, τῷ ληφθέντι ἐχθρὸς ἔσῃ. 3. ἡδονὴν φεύγε, ἥτις λύπην τίκτει. 4. φύλασσε τρόπου καλοκαγαθίαν ὄρκου πιστοτέραν. 5. σφραγίζου τοὺς μὲν λόγους σιγῇ, τὴν δὲ σιγὴν καιρῷ. 6. μὴ ψεύδου, ἀλλ' ἀλήθευε. 7. τὰ σπουδαῖα μελέτα. 8. τῶν γονέων μὴ λέγε δικαιότερα. 9. φίλους μὴ ταχὺ

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too much. 5. [Scil. It is better] to know a lot than to know nothing. 6. Possess a tongue that speaks auspiciously. 7. A kinsman of virtue, a stranger to evil. 8. Hate injustice. 9. Preserve piety. 10. Counsel your fellow-citizens what is best. 11. Dominate over pleasure. 12. Do nothing with violence. 13. Educate your children. 14. Pray to fortune. 15. Settle enmities. 16. Consider the people's adversary to be your enemy. 17. Do not fight with your wife, or be arrogant when others are present: the one can make you seem foolish, the other insane. 18. Do not punish your slaves when they are inebriated: otherwise it is you who will seem to be drunken. 19. Marry from your own social class; for if you marry superiors, you will acquire masters, not relatives. 20. Do not laugh with a mocker; for you will be hated by those he mocks. 21. If you are affluent do not be arrogant, if you are poor do not abase yourself.

[2] Solon of Athens, son of Execestides, said:

1. Nothing in excess. 2. Do not sit as a judge: otherwise you will be hated by the accused. 3. Flee pleasure that begets pain. 4. Preserve nobility of character, more credible than an oath. 5. Seal your discourses with silence, and silence with the right moment. 6. Do not lie, but tell the truth. 7. Devote yourself to serious matters. 8. Do not speak more justly than your parents. 9. Do not acquire friends

κτῶ, οὗς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ, μὴ ταχὺ ἀποδοκίμαζε. 10. ἄρχεσθαι μαθὼν, ἄρχειν ἐπιστήσῃ. 11. εὐθύνας ἐτέρους ἀξιῶν διδόναι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὕπεχε. 12. συμβούλευε μὴ τὰ ἥδιιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ βέλτιστα. 13. τοῖς πολίταις μὴ θρασύνου. 14. μὴ κακοῖς ὀμίλει. 15. χρῶ τοῖς θεοῖς. 16. φίλους εὐσέβει. 17. ὁ ἂν¹ ἴδῃς μὴ λέγε. 18. εἰδὼς σίγα. 19. τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πρῶτος ἴσθι. 20. τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου.

¹ ὁ ἂν <μὴ> Walz

[3] Χείλων Δαμαγῆτου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἔφη·

1. γνῶθι σαυτόν. 2. πίνων, μὴ πολλὰ λάλει· ἀμαρτήσῃ γάρ. 3. μὴ ἀπείλει τοῖς ἐλευθέροις· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον. 4. μὴ κακολόγει τοὺς πλησίον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀκούσῃ ἐφ' οἷς λυπηθήσῃ. 5. ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα τῶν φίλων βραδέως πορεύου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἀτυχίας ταχέως. 6. γάμους εὐτελεῖς ποιοῦ. 7. τὸν τετελευτηκότα μακάριζε. 8. πρεσβύτερον σέβου. 9. τὸν τὰ ἀλλότρια περιεργαζόμενον μίσει. 10. ζημίαν αἰροῦ μάλλον ἢ κέρδος αἰσχροῦ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ λυπήσει, τὸ δὲ αἰεί. 11. τῷ δυστυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπιγέλα. 12. τραχὺς ὢν, ἥσυχον σεαυτόν πάρεχε, ὅπως σε αἰσχύωνται μάλλον, ἢ φοβῶνται. 13. τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας προστάτει. 14. ἢ γλῶσσά σου μὴ προτρεχέτω τοῦ νοῦ. 15. θυμοῦ

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quickly, but those that you do acquire do not reject quickly. 10. If you have learned how to be ruled you will know how to rule. 11. If you demand that others be examined, then submit to examination yourself too. 12. Do not counsel what is most pleasant, but what is best. 13. Do not be arrogant with regard to your fellow-citizens. 14. Do not associate with wicked people. 15. Consult the oracles of the gods. 16. Respect your friends. 17. Do not say what you see. 18. If you know, remain silent. 19. Be gentle to your own people. 20. Estimate what is invisible by what is visible.

[3] Chilon of Lacedaemon, son of Damagetus, said:

1. Know yourself. 2. When you drink do not speak too much: for you will commit a wrong. 3. Do not threaten free men; for that is not just. 4. Do not speak ill of those nearby; otherwise you will hear things that will cause you pain. 5. Go slowly to your friends' dinners, but quickly to their misfortunes. 6. Arrange inexpensive weddings. 7. Bless the deceased. 8. Respect an older man. 9. Hate the man who meddles in other people's affairs. 10. Prefer loss rather than shameful gain: for the one will cause you pain one time, the other forever. 11. Do not laugh at the unfortunate. 12. If you are harsh, show yourself to be gentle, so that people will feel respect for you rather than fear. 13. Lord it over your own household. 14. Your tongue should not run faster than your mind. 15. Dominate over anger.

κράτει. 16. μὴ ἐπιθύμει ἀδύνατα. 17a. ἐν ὁδῷ μὴ σπεῦδε προάγειν, 17b. μηδὲ τὴν χεῖρα κινεῖν·
μανικὸν γάρ. 18. νόμοις πείθου. 19. ἀδικούμενος
διαλλάσσουν· ὑβριζόμενος τιμωροῦ.

[4] Θαλῆς Ἑξαμίου Μιλήσιος ἔφη·

1. ἐγγύα, πάρα δ' ἄτα. 2. φίλων παρόντων καὶ
ἀπόντων μέμνησο. 3. μὴ τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζου,
ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἴσθι καλός. 4. μὴ
πλούτει κακῶς. 5. μή σε διαβαλλέτω λόγος
πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας. 6. κολα-
κεύειν γονεῖς μὴ ὅκνει. 7. μὴ προσδέχου τὸ φαῦ-
λον. 8. οἴους ἂν ἐράνους ἐνέγκῃς τοῖς γονεῦσι,
τούτους αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ γήρα· παρὰ τῶν τέκνων
προσδέχου. 9. χαλεπὸν τὸ εὖ γινῶναι. 10. ἥδι-
στον τὸ ἐπιθυμίας τυχεῖν. 11. ἀνιαρὸν ἀργία. 12.
βλαβερὸν ἀκрасία. 13. βαρὺν ἀπαιδευσία. 14.
δίδασκε καὶ μάθανε τὸ ἄμεινον. 15. ἀργὸς μὴ
ἴσθι, μηδ' ἂν πλουτήῃς. 16. κακὰ ἐν οἴκῳ κρύπτει.
17. φθόνου χάριν μὴ οἰκτεῖρου. 18. μέτρῳ χρῶ.
19. μὴ πᾶσι πίστευε. 20. ἄρχων κόσμῳ σεαυτόν.

[5] Πιττακὸς Ὑρραδίου Λέσβιος ἔφη·

1. καιρὸν γινῶθι. 2. ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν μὴ λέγε·

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16. Do not desire what is impossible. 17a. On the road do not hasten to be first, 17b. and do not gesture with your hand, for that is typical of the insane. 18. Obey the laws. 19. If you suffer injustice, be reconciled; if you suffer outrageous mistreatment, avenge yourself.

[4] Thales of Miletus [cf. **THAL. P16–P17**], son of Exa-myes, said:

1. Give a pledge, and disaster is near. 2. Be mindful of your friends when they are present and also when they are absent. 3. Do not beautify your appearance, but be beautiful in your way of life. 4. Do not become rich by wickedness. 5. Let no word bring discredit for you upon those who share your trust. 6. Do not hesitate to flatter your parents. 7. Do not accept what is substandard. 8. The kinds of benefits you give to your parents, accept these yourself in old age from your children. 9. It is difficult to know the good. 10. The most pleasant thing is to obtain what one desires. 11. Laziness is vexatious. 12. Lack of self-control (*akrasia*) is harmful. 13. Lack of education is burdensome. 14. Teach and learn what is better. 15. Do not be inactive, even if you are wealthy. 16. Conceal evils within the house. 17. Because of envy, do not show pity. 18. Use measure. 19. Do not trust all. 20. If you are performing a magistracy, keep yourself orderly in appearance.

[5] Pittacus of Lesbos, son of Hyrras, said:

1. Know the right moment. 2. Do not say what you

ἀποτυχὼν γὰρ καταγελασθήσῃ. 3. τοῖς ἐπιτη-
δείοις χρῶ. 4. ὅσα νεμεσᾶς τῷ πλησίον, αὐτὸς
μὴ ποίει. 5. ἀπραγοῦντα μὴ ὀνειδίξε· ἐπὶ γὰρ
τούτοις νέμεσις θεῶν κáθηται. 6. παρακαταθή-
κας ἀπόδος. 7. ἀνέχου ὑπὸ τῶν πλησίον μικρὰ
ἐλαττούμενος. 8. τὸν φίλον κακῶς μὴ λέγε, μηδ'
εὖ τὸν ἐχθρόν· ἀσυλλόγιστον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον.
9. δεινὸν συνιδεῖν τὸ μέλλον, ἀσφαλὲς τὸ γενό-
μενον. 10. πιστὸν γῆ, ἄπιστον θάλασσα. 11.
ἄπληστον κέρδος. 12. κτῆσαι αἰδία· θεραπείαν,
εὐσέβειαν, παιδείαν, σωφροσύνην, φρόνησιν,
ἀλήθειαν, πίστιν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἐπιδεξιότητα, ἐται-
ρίαν, ἐπιμέλειαν, οἰκονομίαν, τέχνην.

[6] Βίας Τευταμίδου Πριηνεὺς ἔφη·

1. οἱ πλείστοι ἄνθρωποι κακοί. 2. ἐς τὸ ἔσοπτρον
ἐμβλέψαντα δεῖ, εἰ μὲν καλὸς φαίνεται, καλὰ ποι-
εῖν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχυρός, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλλιπὲς διορ-
θοῦσθαι τῇ καλοκαγαθίᾳ. 3. βραδέως ἐγχείρει·
ὁ δ' ἂν ἄρξῃ, διαβεβαιού. 4. μίσει τὸ ταχὺ λα-
λεῖν, μὴ ἀμάρτης· μετάνοια γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖ. 5.
μήτ' εὐήθης ἴσθι, μήτε κακοήθης. 6. ἀφροσύνην
μὴ προσδέχου. 7. φρόνησιν ἀγάπα. 8. περὶ θεῶν
λέγε, ὥς εἰσὶ θεοί. 9. νόει τὸ πραττόμενον. 10.
ἄκουε πολλά. 11. λάλει καίρια. 12. πένης ὦν
πλουσίους μὴ ἐπιτίμα, ἢν μὴ μέγα ὠφελῆς. 13.
ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον. 14. πεί-
σας λαβέ, μὴ βιασάμενος. 15. ὃ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν

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are going to do; for if you do not succeed you will be laughed at. 3. Use what is suitable. 4. Whatever you rebuke your neighbor for, do not do it yourself. 5. Do not speak ill of the man who fares badly; for the vengeance of the gods is set upon these things. 6. Repay sureties. 7. Accept to be a little bit less than your neighbors. 8. Do not speak ill of a friend nor well of an enemy, for such a thing is illogical. 9. It is terrible to see the future, safe to see the past. 10. The earth is reliable, the sea is unreliable. 11. Gain is insatiable. 12. Acquire what is eternal: service, piety, education, moderation, prudence, truth, credibility, experience, cleverness, comradeship, diligence, housekeeping, skill.

[6] Bias of Priene, son of Teutamides, said:

1. Most humans are bad. 2. You should look into a mirror: if you look fine, then do fine things; if you look ugly, correct by nobility the defect of your nature. 3. Set to work slowly; but where you begin, persist. 4. Hate fast talking, do not commit a wrong; for regret follows after. 5. Be neither simple-minded nor evil-minded. 6. Do not accept folly. 7. Cherish prudence. 8. Say about the gods that they exist. 9. Think about what you are doing. 10. Listen a lot. 11. Speak opportunely. 12. If you are poor, do not rebuke the wealthy, unless you are benefiting them greatly thereby. 13. Do not praise an unworthy man because of his wealth. 14. Take by persuasion, not by force. 15. Whatever good you do, ascribe to the

πράσσης, θεούς, μὴ σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ. 16. κτῆσαι ἐν μὲν νεότητι εὐπραξίαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ σοφίαν. 17. ἔξεις ἔργῳ μνήμην, καιρῷ εὐλάβειαν, τρόπῳ γενναιότητα, πόνῳ ἐγκράτειαν, φόβῳ εὐσέβειαν, πλούτῳ φιλίαν, λόγῳ πειθῶ, σιγῇ κόσμον, γνώμῃ δικαιοσύνην, τόλμῃ ἀνδρείαν, πράξει δυναστείαν, δόξῃ ἡγεμονίαν.

[7] Περὶανδρος Κυψέλου Κορίνθιος ἔφη

1. μελέτα τὸ πᾶν. 2a. καλὸν ἡσυχία· 2b. ἐπισφαλὲς προπέτεια. 3. κέρδος αἰσχροὺς φύσεως κατηγορία. 4. δημοκρατία κρεῖττον τυραννίδος. 5. αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ θνηταί, αἱ δ' ἀρεταὶ ἀθάνατοι. 6. εὐτυχῶν μὲν μέτριος ἴσθι, ἀτυχῶν δὲ φρόνιμος. 7. φειδόμενον κρεῖττον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῶντα ἐνδεῖσθαι. 8. σεαυτὸν ἄξιον παρασκεύαζε τῶν γονέων. 9. ζῶν μὲν ἐπαινοῦ, ἀποθανόντων δὲ μακαρίζου. 10. φίλοις εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι. 11. ὃν ἂν ἐκὼν ὁμολογήσῃς πονηρόν, παράβαινε. 12. λόγων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφορὰν μὴ ποιοῦ. 13. λοιδοροῦ ὡς ταχὺ φίλος ἐσόμενος. 14. τοῖς μὲν νόμοις παλαιοῖς χρῶ, τοῖς δ' ὄψοις προσφάτοις. 15. μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας κόλαζε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας κώλυε. 16. δυστυχῶν κρύπτε, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εὐφράνῃς.

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gods, not yourself. 16. Acquire proper conduct in youth, wisdom in old age. 17. You will acquire reputation by your deed, discretion by [scil. choosing] the right moment, nobility by your character, self-control by your effort, piety by your fear, friendship by your wealth, obedience by your speech, orderliness by your silence, justice by your judgment, manliness by your courage, dominion by your action, supremacy by your fame.

[7] Periander of Corinth, son of Cypselus, said:

1. Practice is all. 2a. Calmness is fine; 2b. rashness is dangerous. 3. Shameful gain is an accusation against your nature. 4. Democracy is better than tyranny. 5. Pleasures are mortal, but virtues immortal. 6. If you are fortunate, be moderate; if unfortunate, prudent. 7. It is better to die being frugal than to live not having enough. 8. Make yourself worthy of your parents. 9. Be praised while you are alive, be blessed when you have died. 10. Be the same to your friends both when they are fortunate and when they are unfortunate. 11. Avoid the man that you yourself recognize to be wicked. 12. Do not reveal secret words. 13. Blame like someone who wants to quickly become a friend. 14. Use laws that are ancient but food that is fresh. 15. You should not only punish those who commit wrong, but also prevent those who are intending to do so. 16. If you are unfortunate, conceal it, so that you will not make your enemies happy.

T36 (\neq DK) Pind. Frag. 35b

σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἰνέ-
σαν περισσῶς.

T37 (cf. 80 A25) Simon. Frag. 542

- 1 ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι
χαλεπὸν χερσὶν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ
τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον·
· · ·
- 11 οὐδέ μοι ἐμμελέως τὸ Πιττάκειον
νέμεται, καίτοι σοφοῦ παρὰ φωτὸς εἰ-
ρημένον· χαλεπὸν φάτ' ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.
θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτ' ἔχοι γέρας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐκ
- 15 ἔστι μὴ οὐ κακὸν ἔμμεναι,
ὃν ἀμήχανος συμφορὰ καθέλη·
πράξας γὰρ εἴ πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός,
κακὸς δ' εἰ κακῶς [
[ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ ἄριστοί εἰσιν
20 [οὓς ἂν οἱ θεοὶ φιλῶσιν.]
τοῦνεκεν οὐ ποτ' ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι
δυνατὸν διζήμενος κενεὰν ἐς ἄ-
πρακτον ἐλπίδα μοῖραν αἰῶνος βαλέω,
πανάμωμον ἄνθρωπον, εὐρυνεδέος ὅσοι
25 καρπὸν αἰνύμεθα χθονός·
ἐπὶ δ' ὑμῖν εὐρῶν ἀπαγγελέω.
πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω,

19–20 paraphrasis Platonica sententiae Simonideae

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T36 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragment

The wise have also praised surpassingly
The saying, "nothing in excess."

T37 (cf. 80 A25) Simonides, Fragments of an encomium for Scopas (cf. **PROT. D42**)

For a man to be truly good (<i>agathos</i>)	1
Is difficult, four-square in his hands, feet, and mind, Constructed without any blemish.	
...	
Nor does Pittacus' saying seem well-said to me,	11
Although it was spoken by a wise man:	
He said that it is difficult to be good (<i>esthlos</i>).	
Only a god could have that honor: a man	
Cannot help being bad,	15
When irresistible disaster seizes hold of him.	
When he is doing well, every man is good;	
But when badly, he is bad.	
[And for the most part those are the best ones Whom the gods love.] ¹	20
And for that reason I myself shall never	
Throw away my portion of life onto an empty, futile hope	
Looking for what cannot come about, the completely blameless man	
Among all of us who enjoy the fruit of the broad earth.	25
I shall tell you when I have found one.	
I praise and love all men,	

¹ The words in brackets are a paraphrase by Plato of the contents of these lines of Simonides.

30 ἐκὼν ὅστις ἔρδη
μηδὲν αἰσχρόν· ἀνάγκη
δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται.

T38 (< 58C.4) Iambl. VP 83

ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἢ αὐτὴ τῇ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφιστῶν λεγομένη σοφία. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐζήτουν οὐ τί ἐστι τὰγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τί μάλιστα; οὐδὲ τί τὸ χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ χαλεπώτατον; ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸν γινῶναί ἐστιν· οὐδὲ τί τὸ ῥάδιον, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ ῥᾶστον; ὅτι τὸ ἔθει χρῆσθαι. τῇ τοιαύτῃ γὰρ σοφία μετηκολουθηκέναι ἔοικε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούσματα· πρότεροι γὰρ οὗτοι Πυθαγόρου ἐγένοντο.

Human Wisdom and the Study of Nature (T39)

T39 (≠ DK) Pind.

a Frag. 61

τί ἔλπεαι σοφίαν ἔμμεν, ἂν ὀλίγον τοι
ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἴσχει;
οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν
βουλευμάτων ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί·
θνατᾶς δ' ἀπὸ ματρὸς ἔφυ.

b Frag. 209

τοὺς φυσιολογούντας ἔφη Πίνδαρος
ἀτελῇ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν.

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Whoever does nothing shameful willingly: but against
necessity
Not even do the gods fight.

30

T38 (< 58C.4) Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*

This [i.e. the wisdom of the Pythagorean *akousmata*, cf. **PYTH. c D15**] is the same as the so-called wisdom of the Seven Sages. For they too investigated not what the good is, but what it is most of all; nor what is difficult, but what is the most difficult (that is, to know oneself); nor what is easy, but what is the easiest (that is, to follow habit). For the *akousmata* of this sort seem to be later than this kind of wisdom: for these [i.e. the Seven Sages] lived before Pythagoras.

Human Wisdom and the Study of Nature (T39)

T39 (≠ DK) Pindar, Fragments

a

What do you expect wisdom to be, if it is only by a
little
That one man possesses it more than another?
For it is impossible for him
To discover the gods' plans with a human mind
(*phreni*):
He was born of a mortal mother.

b

Pindar said that the philosophers of nature
“pluck the fruit of wisdom before it is ripe.”

EARLY IONIAN THINKERS
PART 1

4. PHERECYDES [PHER.]

The ancient sources date Pherecydes' maturity toward the middle of the sixth century BC (544/40), making him younger than Anaximander. But the chronological data are not certain enough to allow us to say which man is the likelier candidate for the title of the most ancient author of philosophy in prose—if indeed the term “philosophy” is meaningful in the case of Pherecydes. But what is certain is that he represents an interesting transitional figure between two types of discourse, theogony and cosmogony, which were becoming differentiated from one another at that time. Already Aristotle described Pherecydes' thought as “mixed.”

Scholastic reconstructions, distorting somewhat the chronology, attribute to Pherecydes the same kind of function within the Italic line of descent as Thales' within the Ionian one: he is said to have been Pythagoras' teacher, as Thales was Anaximander's. This line of descent gave rise to stories often repeated in antiquity [cf. **PYTH. a P12-P15**] but is most probably fictitious.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

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D

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R

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PHERECYDES [7 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.121

γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα.

P2 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

Φερεκύδης, Βάβυλος, Σύριος [. . .] · γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα Ἀλνιάτην, ὥς συγχρονεῖν τοῖς ζ' σοφοῖς καὶ τετέχθαι περὶ τὴν με¹ Ὀλυμπιάδα [. . . = **P6**].

¹ με'] νέ' G: μθ' Rohde

P3 (< A5) Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.38

[. . . = **R14**] antiquus sane; fuit enim meo regnante gentili
[. . .].

PHERECYDES

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He lived during the 59th Olympiad [= 544/40].

P2 (< A2) *Suda*

Pherecydes, son of Babys, of Syros [. . .]; he lived at the time of Alyattes, king of the Lydians [i.e. 605/560], so that he was contemporary with the Seven Sages and was born around the 45th Olympiad [= 600/596].¹

¹ This is often corrected to the 49th Olympiad (584/80) on the supposition that the indication given in **P1** refers to Pherecydes' *floruit* (forty years old).

P3 (< A5) Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*

[. . . scil. he was] quite ancient, for he lived during the reign of my ancestor and namesake [i.e. Servius Tullius, 578/35].

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P4 (8 Schibli) Ps.-Luc. *Long.* 22

[. . .] Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος [. . .] ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

His Teachers (P5–P7)

Did He Have a Greek Teacher? (P5)

P5 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.116

Φερεκύδης Βάβυλος Σύριος, καθά φησιν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Διαδοχαῖς [FGrHist 273 F85], Πιπτακοῦ διακήκοε.

Or Did He Learn from Oriental Sources? (P6–P8)

P6 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = **P2**] αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐσχηκέναι καθηγητήν, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἀσκῆσαι, κτησάμενον τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία [. . . = **R5a**].

P7 (< B4) Eus. *PE* 1.10.50 (= Ph. Bybl., *FHG* III Frag. 9)

παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε περὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὀφίονος θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὀφιονιδῶν [. . .].

P8 (38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion.* 1.14

ἀλλὰ μὴν [. . . = **D4**] Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ

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P4 (\neq DK) Ps.-Lucian, *Long-lived Men*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros [. . . scil. lived] eighty-five years.

His Teachers (P5–P7)

Did He Have a Greek Teacher?[?] (P5)

P5 ($<$ A1) Diogenes Laertius

Pherecydes, son of Babys, of Syros, studied with Pittacus,¹ as Alexander says in his *Successions*.

¹ One of the Seven Sages, cf. **MOR. T35**[5].

Or Did He Learn from Oriental Sources?[?] (P6–P8)

P6 ($<$ A2) *Suda*

[. . .] he did not have a teacher himself, but he trained himself after he had acquired the secret books of the Phoenicians.

P7 ($<$ B4) Philon of Byblos in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

Pherecydes, taking his starting point from the Phoenicians, expressed theological doctrines about the god that he calls Ophion and the Ophionids [cf. **D11–D12**] [. . .].

P8 (\neq DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

But as for [. . .] Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and

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Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦ-
σιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς
[. . . = R7].

His Student Pythagoras (P9)

P9 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = **P2**] διδαχθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόραν λόγος
[. . . = **P6**].

Predictions (P10)

P10 (< A1) *Diog. Laert.* 1.116–17

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θαυμάσια λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ
παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῆς Σάμου περιπατοῦντα καὶ ναῦν
οὐριοδρομοῦσαν ἰδόντα εἰπεῖν ὥς μετ' οὐ πολὺ¹ κατα-
δύσεται· καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ καταδύναι. καὶ ἀνι-
μηθέντος ἐκ φρέατος ὕδατος πιόντα προειπεῖν ὥς εἰς
τρίτην ἡμέραν ἔσοιτο σεισμός, καὶ γενέσθαι. ἀνιόντα
τε εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν² ἐν Μεσσήνῃ³ τῷ ξένῳ Περιλάῳ συμ-
βουλευσάμενος ἐξοικῆσαι μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων· καὶ τὸν μὴ
πεισθῆναι, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἐάλωκέναί. [117] καὶ Λακε-
δαιμονίοις εἰπεῖν μήτε χρυσὸν τιμᾶν μήτε ἄργυρον,
ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν Θαυμασίοις [*FGrHist* 115 F71].

¹ μετ' οὐ πολὺ *rec.*: οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ BPΦ: οὐ μετὰ πολὺ
Diels ² εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν BPΦ: ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίας Casaubon

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Thales, everyone agrees that they were students of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans [. . .].

His Student Pythagoras (P9)

P9 (< A2) *Suda*

There is a report that Pythagoras was taught by him [cf. **PYTH. a P12–P15**].

Predictions (P10)

P10 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Many marvels are reported about him. While he was walking on the beach of Samos, he saw a boat sailing with a fair wind and said that soon it would sink—and it sank before his eyes. When he drank water drawn from a well, he predicted that there would be an earthquake two days later—and it happened. When he traveled to Olympia, he advised his host Perilaus in Messene to leave his home together with his household—but he was not persuaded, and Messene was captured. [117] He told the Lacedaemonians to hold neither gold nor silver in honor, as Theopompus says in his *Marvels*; he had received this order in a

³ ἐν Μεσσήνῃ von der Mühl: ἐς Μεσσήνην (Μεσσή- PΦ)
BP¹Φ: ἐκ Μεσσήνης Richards

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

προστάξαι δὲ αὐτῷ ὄναρ τοῦτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ὃν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νυκτὸς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κελεύσαι Φερεκύδην πείθεσθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ Πυθαγόρα περιάπτουσι ταῦτα [. . . = P14].

Pherecydes at Sparta (P11–P12)

P11 (23 Schibli) Plut. *Agis* 10. 6

ἐπεὶ Τέρπανδρόν γε¹ καὶ Θάλητα καὶ Φερεκύδην ξένους ὄντας, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ διετέλουν ἄδοντες καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμηθῆναι διαφέροντως.

¹ τε mss., corr. Reiske

P12 (25 Schibli) Plut. *Pelop.* 21.3

[. . .] Φερεκύδην τε τὸν σοφὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τι λόγιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φρουρουμένην [. . .].

Death: The Role of Pythagoras (P13–P16)

P13 (32 Schibli) Arist. *HA* 5.30 556b30–557a3

ἐνίοις δὲ τοῦτο συμβαίνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόσημα, ὅταν ὑγρασία πολλὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι ᾗ· καὶ διεφθάρησάν τινες ἤδη τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ Ἀλκμᾶνά τέ φασι τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον.

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dream from Heracles, who that same night ordered the kings to obey Pherecydes. But some people attach this story to Pythagoras [cf. **R13**].

Pherecydes at Sparta (P11–P12)

P11 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Agis*

Although Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes were foreigners, they are particularly honored in Sparta because they constantly sang and proclaimed philosophically the same things as Lycurgus.

P12 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Pelopidas*

[...] Pherecydes the sage was killed by the Lacedaemonians and, in conformity with an oracle, his skin was preserved by the kings [...].¹

¹ Presumably this is the trace of a story of ritual sacrifice, of which the details are obscure.

Death: the Role of Pythagoras (P13–P16)

P13 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *History of Animals*

This disease [i.e. phthiriasis] affects certain humans when there is an abundance of moisture in the body; and some people have already died in this way, like, they say, Alcman the poet, and Pherecydes of Syros.

P14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.117–18

[. . . = **P10**] φησὶ δ' Ἑρμῖππος [FGrHist 1026 F20] πολέμου συνεστῶτος Ἐφεσίοις καὶ Μάγνησι βουλόμενον τοὺς Ἐφεσίους νικῆσαι πυθέσθαι τινὸς παριόντος πόθεν εἴη τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος “ἐξ Ἐφέσου,” “ἔλκυσόν με τοῖνυν,” ἔφη, “τῶν σκελῶν καὶ θῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν Μαγνήτων χώραν, καὶ ἀπάγγελόν σου τοῖς πολίταις μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι αὐτόθι με θάψαι· ἐπεσκηφέναι τε ταῦτα Φερεκύδην.” [118] ὁ μὲν <οὔν>¹ ἀπήγγειλεν· οἱ δὲ μετὰ μίαν ἐπελθόντες κρατοῦσι τῶν Μαγνήτων, καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην μεταλλάξαντα θάπτουσιν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τιμῶσιν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωρυνκίου ὄρους αὐτὸν δισκῆσαι. Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ φησι [Frag. 14 Wehrli] νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου ταφῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ. οἱ δὲ φθειριάσαντα τὸν βίον τελευτῆσαι· ὅτε καὶ Πυθαγόρου παραγενομένου καὶ πυνθανομένου πῶς διακέοιτο, διαβαλόντα τῆς θύρας τὸν δάκτυλον εἰπεῖν, “χροὸ δῆλα.”

¹ <οὔν> > Cobet

P15 (< A4) Diod. Sic. 10.3.4

ὅτι Πυθαγόρας πυθόμενος Φερεκύδην τὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ἐν Δήλῳ νοσεῖν καὶ τελέως¹ ἐσχάτως ἔχειν, ἔπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Δήλον.

¹ τελέως del. Cobet

P14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Hermippus says that during a war between the Ephesians and the Magnesians, he [i.e. Pherecydes] wanted the Ephesians to win and so asked someone who was passing by where he was from. When that man answered, "From Ephesus," he said, "Then drag me by the legs and put me down in the territory of the Magnesians, and proclaim to your fellow citizens that after their victory they must bury me right there; and that it is Pherecydes who has commanded these things." [118] So the man made this proclamation, and they attacked the next day and gained victory over the Magnesians; and they buried Pherecydes, who had died, right there and honored him magnificently. But some say that he went to Delphi and threw himself from Mount Corycius. Aristoxenus says in his book *On Pythagoras and His Disciples* that at the end of his illness he was buried by Pythagoras at Delos. Others say that he died of phthiriasis; and when Pythagoras, who was there, asked how he was doing, he stuck his finger through the door and said, "It is clear from my skin."

P15 (< A4) Diodorus Siculus

When Pythagoras found out that Pherecydes, who had become his tutor, was sick in Delos and finally was near death, he sailed from Italy to Delos. There he took care of

ἐκεῖ δὲ χρόνον ἱκανὸν τὸν ἄνδρα γηροτροφήσας, πᾶσαν εἰσηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ὥστε τὸν πρεσβύτην ἐκ τῆς νόσου διασῶσαι. κατισχυθέντος² δὲ τοῦ Φερεκύδου διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς νόσου, περιέστειλεν αὐτὸν κηδεμονικῶς, καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀξιώσας ὥσανεὶ τις υἱὸς πατέρα πάλιν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

² κατισχύσαντος mss., corr. Reiske

P16 (28 Schibli) Heracl. Lemb. in Diog. Laert. 8.40

Ἡρακλείδης δέ φησιν [FHG III Frag. 6] ἐν τῇ τῶν Σατύρου βίῳ ἐπιτομῇ μετὰ τὸ θάψαι Φερεκύδην ἐν Δήλῳ ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν [. . .].

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the old man for a considerable time and applied all his efforts to save him from his illness. But when Pherecydes has been defeated by old age and the seriousness of his illness, he wrapped up his body carefully and after he had honored him with the traditional rites, like a son for his father, he returned once again to Italy.

P16 (≠ DK) Heraclides Lembos in Diogenes Laertius

Heraclides says in his *Epitome of Satyrus' Lives* that he [i.e. Pythagoras] returned to Italy after he had buried Pherecydes in Delos.

See also **PYTH. a P12, P15**

PHERECYDES [7 DK]

D

Title and Contents of Pherecydes' Book (D1–D4)

D1 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

ἔστι δὲ ἅπαντα ἃ συνέγραψε, ταῦτα· Ἑπτάμυχος ἦτοι
Θεοκρασία ἢ Θεογονία. ἔστι δὲ θεολογία¹ ἔχουσα
θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ διαδοχάς.²

¹ ἐν βιβλίοις ἰ post θεολογία habent mss, del. Jacoby ut ad
Pherecydum Atheniensem spectantia ² διαδόχους mss.,
corr. Preller

D2 (< A1) *Diog. Laert.* 1.116

τοῦτόν φησι Θεόπομπος [*FGrHist* 115 F71] πρῶτον
περὶ φύσεως καὶ¹ θεῶν Ἑλλησι² γράψαι.

¹ καὶ <γενέσεως> Gomperz ² Ἑλλησι del. Diels: <ἐν
τοῖς> Ἑλλησι Marcovich

D3 (A11) *Max. Tyr. Diss.* 4.4.5

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποίησιν σκόπει, τὸν Ζῆνα

PHERECYDES

D

Title and Contents of Pherecydes' Book (D1–D4)

D1 (< A2) *Suda*

These are all of his writings: *The Seven Nooks*¹ or *Mixture of the Gods* or *Theogony*. It is a theology comprising the birth and successions of the gods.

¹ **D6** speaks of *Five Nooks*.

D2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Theopompus says that he was the first to write for the Greeks about nature and the gods.

D3 (A11) Maximus of Tyre, *Philosophical Orations*

Consider also the poetry of the man from Syros: Zeus,

καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἑρωτα καὶ τὴν Ὀφιονέως γένεσιν καὶ τὴν θεῶν μάχην καὶ τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸν πέπλον.

D4 (38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion*. 1.14

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων πρώτους παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερεκύδην τε τὸν Σύριον [. . . = P8].

The Principles (D5–D7)

D5 (< B1) Diog. Laert. 1.119

[. . .] τό τε βιβλίον [. . .] οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν¹ ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη ἦν·² Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῇ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς γῆν³ γέρας διδοί.

¹ ἦσαν Diels: ἦς B: εἰς P¹(Q): εἰς P^x ² χθόνην B, χθὼν ἦν P: corr. Casaubon ³ γην B: γῇ P¹(Q): eras. P^x

D6 (< A8) Dam. *Princ.* 124b (= Eudem. Frag. 117 Wehrli)

Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος [. . .] τὸν δὲ Χρόνον ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ γόνου ἑαυτοῦ πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ [. . .] ἐξ ὧν ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένων πολλὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην [. . .] [cf. R23].

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Chthoniê, Eros who is among them, the birth of Ophioneus,¹ the battle of the gods, the tree, and the robe [cf. **D5, D8, D9, D10–D12**].

¹ A monster, whose name suggests a snake, cf. **R27**.

D4 (≠ DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

But as for those who were the first among the Greeks to philosophize about celestial phenomena and divine matters, like Pherecydes of Syros [. . .].

The Principles (D5–D7)

D5 (< B1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] the book [. . .] its beginning is: **Zas** [i.e. Zeus] **and Chronos were always, and Chthonie was. But the name of Chthonie became Earth when Zas gave her the earth as a present** [cf. **R4**].

D6 (< A8) Eudemus in Damascius, *On the Principles*

Pherecydes of Syros [scil. says] [. . .] that Chronos made out of his own seed fire, breath, and water [. . .] out of which, when they had been distributed in five nooks, was created another numerous generation of gods, called “**the five-nook**” one [. . .].

D7 (< B1a) Ach. Tat. *Introd. Arat.* 3

Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄλων τὸ ὕδωρ ὑφίστανται, ὃ δὴ καὶ χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκύδης [. . . = **R22**].

Zas' Cosmogonic Marriage (D8–D10)

D8 (< B3) Procl. *In Tim.* 3 *ad* 32c (vol. 2, p. 54.28–30 Diehl)

[. . .] ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἑρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν [. . . cf. **R24**].

D9 (B2) P. Grenf. 2.11 ed. Schibli (et al.)

[Col. 1] [αὐ]τῶι ποιοῦσιν τὰ ο[ι]κία | πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα· | ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξετέ[5]λεσαν πάντα καὶ χρήματα καὶ θεράποντας | καὶ θεραπαίνας καὶ | τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ πάντα, | ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα ἐτοῖ[10]μα γίγνεται, τὸν γάμον ποιεῦσιν. καπειδὴ τρίτη ἡμέρη γίγνεται τῶι γάμωι, τό | τε [Zàs ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέ[15]γα τε καὶ καλόν, καὶ | ἐν αὐτῶ[ι] ποικίλλει Γῆν | καὶ Ὠγην[νὸν καὶ τὰ Ὠγηνοῦ [δώματα] . . .

[Col. 2] [βουλόμενος] | γάρ σεο τοὺς γάμον[ς | εἶναι, τούτῳ σε τιμ[έω. | σὺ δέ μοι χαῖρε καὶ σὺ[ν] [5]ι]

Col. 1 1 αὐ]τῶι suppl. Diels, 16–18 Γῆν . . . δώματα suppl. edd. ex Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.9.4, cett. suppl. Grenfell-Hunt

Col. 2 1 βουλόμενος suppl. Weil, 4–5 σὺ[ν]ισθι Blass

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D7 (< B1a) Achilles Tatius, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena*

Thales of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syros posit as the principle of all things water, which Pherecydes also calls **Chaos** [. . .].

Zas' Cosmogonic Marriage (D8–D10)

D8 (< B3) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros said that when Zeus was about to begin his work of creation, he transformed himself into **Eros** [. . .].

D9 (B2) Grenfell Papyrus

[Col. 1] . . . **for him [i.e. Zas] they make buildings, many and great; and when they had finished them all, the objects, male servants, female servants, and everything else that is necessary, when then everything is ready, they perform the wedding. And when the third day of the wedding comes, then Zas makes a robe, great and beautiful, and on it he embroiders Earth, Ogenos [i.e. Ocean], and the houses of Ogenos**
...

[Col. 2] [Zeus speaks to Chthoniê:] . . . **“since I want this marriage to be yours, it is you that I honor with this. But you, receive my greeting and be my wife.”** They

σθι. ταῦτά φασιν ἀν[α]καλυπτήρια πρῶτον | γενέ-
σθαι, ἐκ τούτου δ[ὲ] | ὁ νόμος ἐγένε[το] καὶ | θεοῖσι
καὶ ἀνθρ[ώπ]οι[10]σιν. ἡ δέ μιν ἀμείβεται δεξα-
μ[ένη] εὖ τὸ | φᾶ[ρος] . . .

10–12 suppl. Diels, cett. Grenfell-Hunt 3 s (600) in marg.

D10 (< B2) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.53.5

[. . .] ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρῦς καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον
φᾶρος [. . .] [cf. **R28**].

War Against Ophioneus (D11–D12)

D11 (< B4) Orig. *Cels.* 6.42

Φερεκύδην δὲ πολλῶ ἀρχαιότερον γενόμενον Ἡρα-
κλείτου μυθοποιεῖν¹ στρατείαν στρατεία παραταττο-
μένην, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον διδόναι τῆς ἐτέ-
ρας δὲ Ὀφιονέα, προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀμίλλας αὐτῶν
ἱστορεῖν,² συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἵν' ὁπότεροι
αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὀγηνὸν ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι
νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας τού-
τους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν.

¹ μυθοποιίαν ms., corr. Bouhérieau ² ἱστορεῖ ms., corr.
Bouhérieau

D12 (< B4) Tert. *Cor.* 7.4

Saturnum Pherecydes ante omnes refert coronatum [. . .].

say that these were the first *anakalypteria*¹ that were performed, and from this time this custom has existed, for both gods and men. And she answers him, receiving the robe from him . . .

¹ A nuptial ceremony in ancient Greece, during which the groom unveiled the bride and gave her gifts.

D10 (< B2) Isidore in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* [. . .] the **winged oak** and the **embroidered robe** on it [. . .].

War Against Ophioneus (D11–D12)

D11 (< B4) Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus*

Pherecydes, who is much more ancient than Heraclitus, invented the myth of one army set in order against another army, gave the command of the one to Cronus and of the other to Ophioneus, and recounted their challenges and combats, and that they made an accord according to which whichever ones of them fell into Ogenos would be defeated, while those who expelled them and defeated them would possess the heavens.

D12 (< B4) Tertullian, *On the Soldier's Garland*

Pherecydes reports that Saturn [i.e. Cronus, Khronos] was crowned before everyone [. . .].¹

¹ This doubtless refers to the victory of Cronus over Ophioneus.

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Cosmology (D13–D15)

D13 (< B5) Orig. *Cels.* 6.42

κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρας ἔνερθέν ἐστιν ἡ ταρταρίη
μοῖρα· φυλάσσουσι δ' αὐτήν θυγατέρες Βορέου Ἄρ-
πυιαί τε καὶ Θύελλα, ἔνθα Ζεὺς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν ὅταν
τις ἐξυβρίσῃ.

D14 (< B6) Porph. *Antr.* 31

[. . .] καὶ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχοὺς καὶ βόθρους
καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος [. . .] [cf.
R26].

D15 (< B7) Porph. *Gaur.* 2.2

[. . .] παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ τὴν ἐκροήν [. . .] [cf. **R18**].

Other References to the Gods (D16–D18)

D16 Hdn. *Mon. Lex.*

a (< B9) 7.5 (911.23–34 Lentz)

[. . .] καὶ ἡ Ῥέα Ῥῆ κέκληται ὑπὸ τοῦ Συρίου [. . .].

b (< B1) 6.14–16 (911.7–9 Lentz)

καὶ γὰρ Δὺς καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Δῆν καὶ Ζὰς καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ
Φερεκύδει κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν.

PHERECYDES

Cosmology (D13–D15)

D13 (< B5) Celsus in Origen, *Against Celsus*

Below that portion is the portion of Tartarus. The daughters of Boreas, the Harpies and Thyella [i.e. Storm], **guard it. It is to there that Zeus banishes any of the gods when he commits an outrage.**

D14 (< B6) Porphyry, *The Cave of the Nymphs*

[. . .] and Pherecydes of Syros, who speaks of **nooks**, of **hollows**, of **caves**, of **doors**, of **gates** [. . .].

D15 (< B7) Porphyry, *To Gaurus on the Animation of the Embryo*

[. . .] the **outflow** in Pherecydes [. . .].

Other References to the Gods (D16–D18)

D16 Herodian, *On Particular Usages*

a (< B9)

[. . .] Rhea is called **Rê** by the man from Syros [. . .].

b (< B1)

For one finds **Dis**, **Zên**, **Dên**, **Zas**, and **Zês** in Pherecydes, according to the appropriate declension.

D17 (B12) Diog. Laert. 1.119

ἔλεγε τε ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν θυωρὸν καλοῦσιν.

D18 (< B13a) Plut. *Fac. orb. lun.* 938B

εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία φήσομεν [. . .] τὴν σελήνην [. . .], τρέφειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀμβροσίαν ἀνιείσαν¹ αὐτοῖς ἐφημέριον, ὥς Φερεκύδης ὁ παλαιὸς οἴεται σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς² θεούς.

¹ ἀνείσαν mss., corr. Emperius
corr. Wytttenbach

² αὐτοὺς mss.,

A Reference to the Hyades (D19)

D19 (B13) Schol. in Arat. *Phaen.* 172, p. 369.27

Ἰππίας [cf. **D36**] δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης ἐπτά.

PHERECYDES

D17 (B12) Diogenes Laertius

And he also said that the gods call the [scil. banquet] table a **table for offerings**.

D18 (< B13a) Plutarch, *On the Face in the Moon*

Unless we say [. . .] that the moon [. . .] nourishes the men [scil. who live on it] by sending up ambrosia to them every day, as the ancient Pherecydes thinks that the gods themselves are fed.

A Reference to the Hyades (D19)

D19 (B13) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Hippias [cf. **D35**] and Pherecydes say [scil. that the Hyades] are seven in number.

PHERECYDES [7 DK]

R

The Earliest References and Allusions (R1–R3)

R1 (< 36 B4) Ion Chius in Diog. Laert. 1.120

Ἴων δ' ὁ Χῖός φησιν περὶ αὐτοῦ·

ὥς ὁ μὲν ἡγορέη τε κεκασμένος ἡδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῇ τερπνὸν ἔχει βίοντον,
εἴπερ Πυθαγόρης ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν.

R2 (p. 88 Schibli) Plat. *Soph.* 242c–d

ὁ μὲν ὡς τρία τὰ ὄντα, πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε
αὐτῶν ἅττα πη, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ φίλα γιγνόμενα γάμους
τε καὶ τόκους καὶ τροφὰς τῶν ἐκγόνων παρέχεται.

¹ It is possible, but not certain, that Plato is implicitly alluding to Pherecydes.

PHERECYDES

R

The Earliest References and Allusions (R1–R3)

R1 (< 36 B4) Ion of Chios in Diogenes Laertius

Ion of Chios says about him [i.e. Pherecydes¹]:

Thus adorned with prowess and reverence,
He has a pleasant life for his soul even though he
is dead,
If indeed Pythagoras, truly wise beyond all [or: about
all things],
Made acquaintance with men's thoughts and knew
them thoroughly.

[cf. **PYTH. a P29**].

¹ The pronoun could also refer to Pythagoras, whose name appears in an epigram that Diogenes Laertius has just cited.

R2 (≠ DK) Plato, *Sophist*

[. . .] the one¹ says that there are three beings, that at one time some of them wage war against each other, and that at another they become friends, get married, have children, and raise their offspring [cf. **D5, D8–D12**].

R3 (< A7) Arist. *Metaph.* N4 1091b8–10

[. . .] ἐπεὶ οἱ γε μεμιγμένοι αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ μὴ μυθικῶς πάντα λέγειν, οἷον Φερεκύδης καὶ ἕτεροί τινες, τὸ γεν-
νῆσαν πρῶτον ἄριστον τιθέασι [. . .].

Pherecydes' Book (R4–R9)

The First Prose Author (R4–R7)

R4 (9 Schibli) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 7.205

[. . .] prosam orationem condere Pherecydes Syrius instituit Cyri regis aetate, historiam Cadmus Milesius [. . .].

R5 (< A2) *Suda*

a Φ.214

[. . . = **P6**] πρῶτον δὲ συγγραφὴν ἐξενεγκεῖν πεζῷ λόγῳ τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν, ἐτέρων τοῦτο εἰς Κάδμον τὸν Μιλήσιον φερόντων [. . . = **R15**].

b Φ.216

Πορφύριος [. . .] ἐκείνον μόνον ἡγεῖται ἀρχηγὸν συγγραφῆς.

R6 (13 Schibli) Strab. 1.2.6

εἶτα ἐκείνην [sc. τὴν ποιητικὴν κατασκευήν] μιμούμενοι λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τᾶλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἑκαταῖον.

PHERECYDES

R3 (A7) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] those among them [i.e. the ancient poets] whose position is mixed, also because they do not say everything in a mythic way posit as the best that which engendered first, like Pherecydes and certain others [. . .].

Pherecydes' Book (R4–R9)

The First Prose Author (R4–R7)

R4 (≠ DK) Pliny, *Natural History*

[. . .] Pherecydes of Syros founded the composition of discourse in prose under the reign of Cyrus [= 559/29], Cadmus of Miletus did the same for history [. . .].

R5 (< A2) *Suda*

a

Some people report that he was the first to publish a treatise in prose, while others attribute this to Cadmos of Miletus [. . .].

b

Porphyrius [. . .] thinks that he alone [i.e. and not Pherecydes of Athens] was the originator of the [scil. prose] treatise.

R6 (≠ DK) Strabo, *Geography*

Then Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus wrote treatises that imitated this [i.e. poetic presentation]: they abandoned meter but preserved all the other poetic features.

R7 (< 38 Schibli) Flav. Jos. *Apion*. 1.14

[. . . = **P8**] ὀλίγα συγγράψαι.

In Ionic Dialect (R8)

R8 Apoll. Dysc. *Pronom.*

a (B13) p. 65.15 Schneider

καὶ Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ θεολογίᾳ καὶ ἔτι [. . . cf. **ATOM**.

R3a] χρῶνται τῇ ἐμεῦ καὶ ἔτι τῇ ἐμέο.

b (B11) p. 92.20–93.2 Schneider

αἱ πληθυντικαὶ κοινολεκτοῦνται κατ' εὐθείαν πρὸς τε Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀττικῶν, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς, ἔστι <δὲ>¹ πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς εὐθείας παρ' Ἰωσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Δημόκριτον [**ATOM**. **R3b**], Φερεκύδην [. . .].

¹ <δὲ> Wilamowitz

The Survival of His Book (R9)

R9 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.119

σώζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· [. . . = **D5**].

PHERECYDES

R7 (≠ DK) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

[. . .] they [i.e. Pherecydes, Pythagoras, and Thales] wrote only very little.

In Ionic Dialect (R8)

R8 Apollonius Dyscolus, *On Pronouns*

a (B13)

Pherecydes in his *Theology*, as well as [i.e. Democritus] [. . .] often use “**emeu**” and also “**emeo**” [i.e. both the contracted and the uncontracted form of “my”].

b (B11)

In the nominative, the plural forms *hêmeis*, *humeis*, *spheis* (“we,” “you,” “they”) are used by both Ionian and Attic writers, but the uncontracted forms of the nominative are also attested in Ionic writers in the writings of Democritus [cf. **ATOM. R3b**], Pherecydes, [. . .].

The Survival of His Book (R9)

R9 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Of the one from Syros [scil. not Pherecydes of Athens] the book he wrote is extant;¹ its beginning is [. . .].

¹ This might refer to the time of Diogenes Laertius, or to that of his (unknown) source.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

One of the Seven Sages (R10)

R10 (cf. A2a) Diog. Laert. 1.42

Ἑρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἑπτακαίδεκά φη-
σιν [Frag. 6 Wehrli], ὧν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄλλους ἄλλως αἰρεῖ-
σθαι εἶναι δὲ [. . .] Φερεκύδην [. . .].

Pherecydes as a Pythagorean (R11–R18)

The Initiator of the Pythagorean Line of Descent of Greek Philosophy (R11–R12)

R11 (58 Schibli) Arist. in Diog. Laert. 2.46 (= Frag. 65
Rose)

[. . .] ἐφιλονεῖκει [. . .] Θάλητι δὲ Φερεκύδης [. . .].

R12 (46b Schibli) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.62.4

διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀναγράφεται, ὥσπερ
οὐδὲ Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου, ᾧ Πυθαγόρας ἐμαθήτευ-
σεν.

A Substitution (R13)

R13 (< A6) Porph. apud Eus. *PE* 10.3.7–9 (< Frag. 408
Smith, p. 480.30–46)

[7] ταῦτ' οὖν τοῦ Ἄνδρωνος περὶ Πυθαγόρου ἱστορη-
κότος πάντα ὑφείλετο Θεόπομπος· [. . .] νῦν δὲ τὴν
κλοπὴν δῆλῃν πεποίηκεν ἢ τοῦ ὀνόματος μετὰθεσις·

PHERECYDES

One of the Seven Sages (R10)

R10 (cf. A2a) Diogenes Laertius

Hermippus in his book *On the Sages* says [scil. that the Sages were] seventeen, out of whom different people made different selections of seven; and that they were [. . .] Pherecydes [. . .].

Pherecydes as a Pythagorean (R11–R18) *The Initiator of the Pythagorean Line of Descent* *of Greek Philosophy (R11–R12)*

R11 (\neq DK) Aristotle, *On the Poets*, in Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Pherecydes was the rival of Thales [. . .].

R12 (\neq DK) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

No teacher is recorded for him [i.e. Thales], just as there is none for Pherecydes of Syros either, with whom Pythagoras studied [cf. **P9**].

A Substitution (R13)

R13 ($<$ A6) Porphyry in Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

[7] All these stories that Andron has told about Pythagoras, Theopompus has purloined [. . .]. But as it is, the change of name renders the theft obvious. For he uses the

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕτερον δ' ὄνομα μετενήνοχε· Φερεκύδην γὰρ τὸν Σύριον πεποίηκε ταῦτα προλέγοντα. [8] οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει. τό τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς προρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπ' Ἄνδρωνος ῥηθὲν ἐν Σύρῳ¹ εἰρησθαί φησιν ὁ Θεόπομπος τό τε περὶ τὸ πλοῖον οὐκ ἀπὸ Μεγάρων τῆς Σικελίας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου φησὶ θεωρηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Συβάρεως ἄλωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσηνίας μετέθηκεν. [9] ἵνα δέ τι δοκῇ λέγειν περιττόν, καὶ τοῦ ξένου προστέθηκε τοῦνομα, Περίλαον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι λέγων.

¹ Σύριῳ mss., corr. Müller

Doctrinal Rapprochements (R14–R18)
Metempsychosis (R14–R16)

R14 (< A5) Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.38

[. . .] sed quod litteris exstet, Pherecydes Syrius primus¹ dixit animos esse hominum sempiternos [. . . = **P3**]. hanc opinionem discipulus eius Pythagoras maxime confirmavit [. . .].

¹ primum mss., corr. Bentley

R15 (< A2) *Suda* Φ.214

[. . . = **R5**] καὶ πρῶτον τὸν περὶ τῆς μετεμψυχώσεως λόγον εἰσηγήσασθαι.

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same events but substituted one name for the other. For he has made Pherecydes of Syros the one who made this prediction [cf. **P10**]. [8] And it is not only by this name that he conceals his theft, but also by a change of location. For while Andron located the story about the prediction of an earthquake at Metapontum, Theopompus says that it was made in Syros; and also the incident concerning the ship was seen not from Megara in Sicily but from Samos; and he has substituted the capture of Messene for that of Sybaris. [9] And finally, in order to create the impression that he was saying something extraordinary, he has also added the name of the host, saying that he was called Perilaus.

Doctrinal Rapprochements (R14–R18) *Metempsychosis (R14–R16)*

R14 (< A5) Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*

[. . .] to judge from written records, Pherecydes of Syros was the first to say that the souls of humans are eternal [. . .]. His disciple Pythagoras strongly supported this view [cf. **PYTH. c D4–D5**].

R15 (< A2) *Suda*

[. . .] [Scil. Some report that] he was the first to introduce the idea of metempsychosis.

R16 (< A5) Appon. 5.23 (ad Cn. 3:5)

[. . . = **THAL. R43**] Ferecides autem vocabulo animam hominis prior omnibus immortalem auditoribus suis tradidisse docetur, et eam esse vitam corporis, et unum nobis de caelo spiratum,¹ alterum credidit terrenis seminibus comparatum.

¹ spiritum RMpcb

The One (R17)

R17 (< A7a) Plot. 5.1.9.28–30

[. . .] ὥστε τῶν ἀρχαίων οἱ μάλιστα συντασσόμενοι τοῖς¹ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ Φερεκύδου δὲ περὶ ταύτην μὲν ἔσχον τὴν φύσιν.

¹ αὐτοῖς mss., corr. Creuzer

Seed (R18)

R18 (B7) Porph. *Gaur.* 2 (p. 34.26–35.3 Kalbfleisch)

[. . .] πολὺς ὁ Νουμήνιος καὶ οἱ τὰς Πυθαγόρου ὑπονοίας ἐξηγούμενοι, καὶ τὸν παρὰ μὲν τῷ Πλάτῳ ποταμὸν Ἀμέλγητα [*Rep.* 621a], παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ [cf. **COSM. T7**] καὶ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς [*Frag.* 344 F Bernabé] τὴν Στύγα, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ τὴν ἐκροὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐκδεχόμενοι [. . .].

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R16 (< A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs* [. . .] They say that a certain Pherecydes, before all others, taught his students the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal and that it is the life of the body, and he believed on the one hand that it is breathed into us from heaven and on the other that it is supplied by earthly seeds [cf. **PHER. R29; THAL. R43**].

The One (R17)

R17 (< A7a) Plotinus, *Enneads* [. . .] so that among the ancients, those who most align themselves with the doctrines of Pythagoras and his successors as well as with those of Pherecydes were concerned with this nature [i.e. the One] [. . .].

Seed (R18)

R18 (B7) Porphyry, *To Gaurus on the Animation of the Embryo*

[. . .] the great Numenius and the interpreters of Pythagoras' hidden thought [cf. **PYTHS. R69**] understand as seed the river Ameles in Plato, the Styx in Hesiod and the Orphics, and the **outflow** in Pherecydes [. . .] [cf. **D15**].

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Other Allegories and Interpretations (R19–R26)

The Form of the Narrative (R19)

R19 (A12) Procl. *In Tim.* 1 ad 22b–c (vol. 1, p. 129.15–16 Diehl)

[. . .] ἡ Πλάτωνος παράδοσις οὐκ ἔστι τοιαύτη αἰνιγματώδης, οἷα ἡ Φερεκύδου [. . .].

The Principles and Elements (R20–R26)

R20 (cf. A9) Herm. *Irris.* 12

[. . . = **R30**] Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθήρ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα.

R21 (A10) Sext. *Emp. Pyr. Hyp.* 3.30

Φερεκύδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Σύριος γῆν εἶπε τὴν πάντων εἶναι ἀρχήν [. . .].

R22 (> B1a) Ach. Tat. *Introd. Arat.* 3

[. . . = **D7**] τὸ ὕδωρ [. . .], ὃ δὴ καὶ χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκύδης, ὡς εἰκός, τοῦτο ἐκλεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἑσιόδου οὕτω λέγοντος·

ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετο.

παρὰ γὰρ τὸ χεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει τὸ ὕδωρ χάος ὠνόμασθαι.

PHERECYDES

Other Allegories and Interpretations (R19–R26) *The Form of the Narrative (R19)*

R19 (A12) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

[. . .] Plato's teaching [scil. on the war of ancient Athens against Atlantis] is not enigmatic in the same way as Pherecydes' is [. . .].

The Principles and Elements (R20–R26)

R20 (cf. A9) Hermias, *Satire on the Pagan Philosophers*

[. . .] Zeus the aether, Chthoniê the earth, and Cronus time (*khronos*): the aether is the agent, the earth the patient, the time that in which the things that come about exist.

R21 (A10) Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*

Pherecydes of Syros said that the principle of all things is the earth [. . .].

R22 (> B1a) Achilles Tatius, *Introduction to Aratus' Phaenomena*

[. . .] water, which Pherecydes also calls “**Chaos**,” having probably derived this name from Hesiod, who says, “In truth, first of all Chaos came to be” [**COSM. T11**]. For he thinks that water was called “Chaos” from the fact that it pours out (*kheisthai*).

R23 (> A8) Dam. *Princ.* 124b (= Eudem. Frag. 117 Wehrli)

Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος Ζᾶντα μὲν εἶναι¹ αἰὲ καὶ Χρόνον καὶ Χθονίαν τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ἀρχάς, τὴν μίαν φημὶ πρὸ τῶν δυεῖν καὶ τὰς δύο μετὰ τὴν μίαν, τὸν δὲ Χρόνον ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ γόνου ἑαυτοῦ πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ, τὴν τριπλῆν, οἶμαι, φύσιν τοῦ νοητοῦ, ἐξ ᾧ ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένων πολλὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην, ταῦτόν δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν, πεντέκοσμον.

¹ μένεναι mss., corr. Kopp

R24 (> B3) Procl. *In Tim.* 3 ad 32c (vol. 2, p. 54.28–55.2 Diehl)

καὶ ἴσως πρὸς τοῦτο ἀποβλέπων καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἑρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἔνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.

R25 (A9) Lyd. *Mens.* 4.3

ἥλιος αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκύδην.

R26 (B6) Porph. *Antr.* 31

[. . .] καὶ τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχοὺς καὶ βόθρους

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R23 (> A8) Eudemus in Damascius, *On the Principles*

Pherecydes of Syros [scil. says] on the one hand that Zas always exists as well as Chronos and Chthonie, the three first principles—the first of these, I mean, before the other two, and these two after the first one—and on the other hand that Chronos made out of his seed fire, breath, and water—the triple nature, I suppose, of the intelligible—out of which, when they had been distributed in five nooks, arose another numerous generation of gods, called “**the five-nook**” one [cf. **D6**]
—what is surely the same thing as “the five-cosmos” one.

R24 (> B3) Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*

And it is perhaps with a view toward this [scil. that love is the cause of the harmony in these products] that Pherecydes of Syros said that when Zeus was about to begin his work of creation, he transformed himself into **Eros**, because, since he was putting the world together out of the contraries, he led them to agreement and friendship and sowed in all things identity and the unity that pervades the universe [cf. **D8**].

R25 (A9) John Lydus, *On the Months*

He [i.e. Zeus] is the sun according to Pherecydes.

R26 (B6) Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs*

[. . .] and Pherecydes of Syros, who speaks of **nooks**, of

καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος καὶ διὰ
τούτων αἰνιττομένου τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν γενέσεις καὶ ἀπο-
γενέσεις.¹

¹ καὶ ἀπογενέσεις V: om. M

Pherecydes Among the Christians (R27–R30)
Does Pherecydes Derive His Inspiration from
Homer or the Bible? (R27)

R27 Orig. Cels.

a (< B5) 6.42

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη οὕτω νοήσαντα¹ τὸν Φερεκύ-
δην φησὶν εἰρηκέναι τό “κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρας [. . .]
ἐξυβρίση” [D13].

¹ νοηθέντα ms., corr. Guiet

b (79 Schibli) 6.43

[. . .] μὴ κατανοήσας ὅτι τὰ πολλῶ οὐ μόνον Ἡρα-
κλείτου καὶ Φερεκύδου ἀρχαιότερα ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὅμηρου
Μωϋσέως γράμματα εἰσήγαγε τὸν περὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ
τούτου καὶ ἐκπεσόντος τῶν οὐρανίων λόγον. ὁ γὰρ
ὄφεις, παρ’ ὃν ὁ παρὰ τῷ Φερεκύδῃ γέγονεν Ὀφιονεὺς
[. . .] τοιαῦτά τινα αἰνίσσεται [. . .].

hollows, of **caves**, of **doors**, of **gates**, and means by these terms allegorically the births and departures of the souls [cf. **D14**].

Pherecydes Among the Christians (R27–R30)
Does Pherecydes Derive His Inspiration from
Homer or the Bible? (R27)

R27 Origen, *Against Celsus*

a (< B5)

He [i.e. Celsus] says that it is because he understood these verses of Homer [*Iliad* 1.590–91 and 15.18–24]¹ in this way that he [i.e. Pherecydes] said, “**Below that portion** [. . .] **he commits an outrage**” [= **D13**].

¹ The gods, including Hephaestus, who have come to the help of Hera (whom Zeus had suspended in the air), are expelled from Olympus.

b (≠ DK)

[. . .] he [i.e. Celsus] does not understand that Moses’ writings, which are far more ancient not only than Heraclitus’ and Pherecydes’ but also than Homer’s, introduced the story about this evil being [i.e. Satan], that he fell from the heavens. For the snake (*ophis*), from which Ophioneus is derived in Pherecydes, [. . .] allegorically signifies things of this sort [. . .] [cf. **D11**].

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Other Testimonia on Pherecydes' Dependence upon the Scriptures (R28–R29)

R28 (< B2) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.53.5

[. . .] καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ¹ τοὺς προσποιουμένους φιλο-
σοφεῖν ἵνα μάθωσι τί ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρῦς καὶ τὸ
ἐπ' αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον φᾶρος, πάντα ὅσα Φερεκύδης
ἀλληγορήσας ἐθεολόγησεν, λαβὼν² ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χὰμ
προφητείας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

¹ δοκεῖ <διδάσκειν> vel <ἐλέγχειν> Früchtel ² λαβεῖν
Heyse

R29 (< A5) Appon. 5.22 (ad Cn. 3:5)

in priore enim 'filiarum adiuratione,' in 'caprearum et
cervorum' personas thalesianae et ferecidensis philoso-
phiae intellegi diximus [. . .].

Hermias' Fatigue (R30)

R30 (cf. A9) Herm. *Irris.* 12

νευροκοποῦσι¹ γάρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρχαιότεροι τού-
των γέροντες, Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα
καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον [. . . = R20].

¹ νευροκοποιοῦσι mss., corr. Hanson: νευροσπαστοῦσι
Usener

PHERECYDES

Other Testimonia on Pherecydes' Dependence upon the Scriptures (R28–R29)

R28 (< B2) Isidore in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*
[. . .] it seems to me that the pretenders are philosophizing
in order to learn what are the **winged oak** and the **em-
broidered robe** on it [= **D10**], everything that Phere-
cydes has said allegorically in a theological form, taking
his starting point from the prophecy of Cham [cf. Genesis
9:20–27].

R29 (< A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*
For we said about the earlier 'adjuration of the daughters'
that 'the roes and stags' are to be understood as the rep-
resentatives of the philosophy of Thales and Pherecydes¹
[cf. **PHER. R16**; **THAL. R43**].

¹ The reference seems to be to his commentary (4:1) on *Cn.*
2.7 (where in fact he does not name Thales or Pherecydes, but
the Platonists and the Stoics).

Hermias' Fatigue (R30)

R30 (cf. A9) Hermias, *Satire on the Pagan Philosophers*
Ancient philosophers earlier than those [scil. probably:
Plato and Aristotle] exhaust my spirit—Pherecydes, when
he says that the principles are Zeus, Chthoniê, and Cronus
[. . .].

*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Pherecydes and Thales (R31)*

R31 Diog. Laert.

a (Hercher 740) 1.43–44

Θαλῆς Φερεκῦδει—πυνθάνομαί σε πρῶτον Ἰώνων μέλλειν λόγους ἀμφὶ τῶν θείων χρημάτων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας φαίνειν. καὶ τάχα μὲν ἡ γνώμη τοι δικαίη ἐς τὸ ξυνὸν καταθέσθαι γραφήν, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' ὁποιοισοῦν ἐπιτρέπειν χρήμα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος. εἰ δὴ τοι ἥδιον, ἐθέλω γενέσθαι λεσχηνώτης περὶ ὁτέων γράφεις· καὶ ἦν κελεύης, παρὰ σὲ ἀφίξομαι ἐς Σῦρον. [. . .] ἥξει γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σόλων, ἦν ἐπιτρέπης. [44] σὺ μέντοι χωροφιλέων ὀλίγα φοιτείεις ἐς Ἰωνίην, οὐδέ σε ποθὴ ἴσχει ἀνδρῶν ξείνων· ἀλλά, ὥς ἔλπομαι, ἐνὶ μούνῳ χρήματι πρόσκειται τῇ γραφῇ. ἡμέες δὲ οἱ μηδὲν γράφοντες περιχωρέομεν τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ Ἀσίην.

b (test. 238 Wöhrle) 1.122

Φερεκῦδης Θαλῇ—εὖ θνήσκεις ὅταν τοι τὸ χρεὼν ἦκη. νοῦσός με καταλελάβηκε δεδεγμένον τὰ παρὰ σέο γράμματα. φθειρῶν ἔβρυνον¹ πᾶς καί με εἶχεν ἡπίαλος. ἐπέσκηψα δ' ὦν τοῖσιν οἰκίητησιν, ἐπὴν με καταθάψωσιν, ἐς σὲ τὴν γραφὴν ἐνέγκαι. σὺ δὲ ἦν

¹ ἔβρυνον Frobenius: ἔθνον mss.

PHERECYDES

An Apocryphal Correspondence between Pherecydes and Thales (R31)

R31 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

a

[Thales to Pherecydes:] I hear that you are going to be the first Ionian to set forth discourses on divine matters for the Greeks. And perhaps your decision is wise, to make your text public instead of entrusting it to any individuals, something that has no advantage. If you wish, I am willing to become your interlocutor for whatever you write; and if you ask me, I will come to you in Syros. [. . .] Solon will come too, if you permit. [44] You are attached to your country and so you come only rarely to Ionia, and the desire to meet foreigners does not possess you; but, as I suppose, you dedicate yourself to only one activity, writing—whereas we who write nothing travel throughout Greece and Asia.

b

[Pherecydes to Thales:] May you die well when your time comes. An illness has befallen me since I received your letter. I am completely full of lice and an ague has taken hold of me. So I have ordered my servants to carry my text to you after they have buried me. If you, together with the

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δοκιμώσης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς, οὕτω μιν φήνον·
 ἦν δὲ οὐ δοκιμώσητε, μὴ φήνης. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐκω
 ἦνδανεν. ἔστι δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεκείη πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ὑπί-
 σχνέομαί <κ>ου τῶληθές² εἰδέναι, ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἐπι-
 λέγω³ θεολογέων· τὰ ἄλλα χρή νοεῖν· ἅπαντα γὰρ
 αἰνίσσομαι. [. . .]

² <κ>ου τῶληθές Diels post Reiske : οὕτω ληθές B: οὐ τω-
 ληθές P¹ (ut vid.: οὕτω ἀληθές Q): οὐ τ' ἀληθές P⁴ ³ ἐπι-
 λέγω Menagius: ἐπιλέγη BP: ἐπιλέγη Dorandi

PHERECYDES

other sages, approve of it, publish it as it is; if you do not approve, do not publish it. As for myself, I am not yet satisfied with it. There is a lack of precision about the subject matter nor do I promise in any case that I know the truth, but only what I say when I speak about the gods. All other things one has to think about, for I hint at them all allegorically [. . .].

5. THALES [THAL.]

Thales' activity is situated at Miletus between the second half of the seventh century and the first decades of the sixth century BC. He is included in the canonical list of the seven "Sages," which goes back to an early date (**P1b**, cf. **R2–R4**). Histories of philosophy often present him as "the first philosopher," largely because of the way in which Aristotle introduces him in the *Metaphysics*, as the first to have practiced a philosophy of "nature" (**R9**). But the most ancient testimonia, notably those of Aristophanes and Herodotus, rather suggest a multifaceted figure engaged above all in politics and (especially hydraulic) engineering. It is most likely that he left no writings behind, as is suggested by the fact that already Aristotle seems to have no direct knowledge of his ideas. A large number of mathematical and scientific discoveries are attributed to him by later authors, but it is usually difficult or impossible to say whether, and if so to what extent, they really do go back to him; in any case, we have put all these reports into the section on Thales' reception (**R13–R31**). In general, the distinction, maintained here as in the other chapters, between doctrine and reception is more hypothetical in the case of Thales than in most other ones.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

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D

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R

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THALES [11 DK]

P

Chronology (P1)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert.

a 1.37–38

φησὶ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς [FGrHist 244 F28] γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς τριακοστῆς πέμπτης¹ Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἐτελεύτησε δ' ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, ἧ, ὥς Σωσικράτης φησὶν [Frag. 1 Giannattasio Andria], ἐνενήκοντα· τελευτῆσαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος, γεγονότα κατὰ Κροῖσον [. . .].

¹ πέμπτης] ἐνάτης prop. Diels

b 1.22

καὶ πρῶτος σοφὸς ὠνομάσθη ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Δαμασίον, καθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ ἐπτά σοφοὶ ἐκλήθησαν, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων ἀναγραφῇ [Frag. 149 Wehrli].

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P

Chronology (P1)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

Apollodorus in his *Chronicles* says that he was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad [= 640/39].¹ He died at the age of seventy-eight; or, as Sosicrates says, at ninety; for he died during the 58th Olympiad [= 548/44], having lived at the time of Croesus [. . .].²

¹ Diels suggested correcting “35th” to “39th” (= 624/23).

² A competing ancient chronology (A2, A8 DK) dated Thales to the mid-eighth century BC.

b

And he was first called a “sage” when Damasius was archon in Athens [= 582/81]; it was during this time that the Seven Sages were named, as Demetrius of Phalerum says in his *Catalog of the Archons* [cf. **R2–R4**].

*Origins and Family (P2)***P2** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.22

ἦν τοίνυν ὁ Θαλῆς, ὡς μὲν Ἡρόδοτος [cf. 1.170] καὶ Δοῦρις [FGrHist 76 F74] καὶ Δημόκριτός [cf. **ATOM. P23–P26**] φασι, πατὴρ μὲν Ἐξαμύνου, μητὴρ δὲ Κλεοβουλίνης, ἐκ τῶν Θηλιδῶν,¹ οἳ εἰσι Φοίνικες, εὐγενέστατοι τῶν ἀπὸ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀγήνορος. [. . .] ἐπολιτογραφήθη δὲ ἐν Μιλήτῳ, ὅτε ἦλθε σὺν Νείλεω² ἐκπεσόντι Φοινίκης· ὥς δ' οἱ πλείους φασίν, ἰθαγενὴς Μιλήσιος ἦν καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ.

¹ Νηλιδῶν Bywater² varia mss., corr. Diels*Alleged Education in Egypt (P3–P5)***P3** (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ καθηγήσατο, πλὴν ὅτι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι συνδιέτριβεν.

P4 (A11) Aët. 1.3.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν τί εἰσιν]

φιλοσοφήσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἦλθεν εἰς Μίλητον πρεσβύτερος.

P5 (A11) Iambl. VP 12

[. . .] προτρέψατο εἰς Αἴγυπτον διαπλεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Μέμφιδι καὶ Διοσπόλει μάλιστα συμβαλεῖν ἱερεῦσι

THALES

Origins and Family (P2)

P2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Thales, as Herodotus, Duris, and Democritus [cf. **R1**] report, had as father Examuas and as mother Cleobuline, of the family of the Thelides, who are Phoenicians, the most noble of the descendants of Cadmus and Agenor. [. . .] He became a citizen of Miletus when he went there with Neileus, who had been exiled from Phoenicia. But according to what most authors report, he was of genuine Milesian lineage and belonged to an illustrious family.

Alleged Education in Egypt (P3–P5)

P3 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

No one showed him the way, except that he went to Egypt and spent time with the priests.

P4 (A11) Aëtius

After he had practiced philosophy in Egypt, he came to Miletus as an old man.

P5 (A11) Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*

[. . .] he exhorted him [i.e. Pythagoras] to sail to Egypt and to spend time above all with the priests of Memphis and

παρὰ γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ εὐνὸν ἐφωδίσθαι ταῦτα, δι'
 ὃ σφοδρὸς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς νομίζεται.

Disciple of Pherecydes, Like Pythagoras?

See PYTH. P13

The Engineer (P6)

P6 (> A6) Hdt. I.75

ὥς δὲ ἀπρίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖστος, τὸ
 ἐνθεύτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς εἰστας γεφύρας
 διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν, ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὰς λόγος Ἑλ-
 λήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέωντος
 γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ
 στρατὸς (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χροῖον τὰς
 γεφύρας ταύτας), λέγεται παρῶντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ
 στρατοπέδῳ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀπιστεφῆς
 χειρὸς πέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς πέειν, ποιή-
 σαι δὲ ὧδε. ἀνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον δι-
 ὠρυχα βάθειαν ὀρύσσειν ἄγωνα κηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν
 τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νῶτον λάβοι, ταύτῃ
 κατὰ τὴν διῶρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων πέ-
 ῖθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς, παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς
 τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι, ὥστε, ἐπειτε καὶ ἐσχύσθῃ τὰχι-
 στα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβαρὸς ἐγείνεται.

THALES

of Diopolis [i.e. Thebes]. For it was from them that he himself had obtained what made most people regard him as a sage.

See also **PHER. P7**

Disciple of Pherecydes, Like Pythagoras?

See **PYTH. P13**

The Engineer (P6)

P6 (> A6) Herodotus, *Histories*

When Croesus arrived at the river Halys, he got his army across it, as I say for my part, on bridges that existed at the time; but according to a report widespread among the Greeks, it was Thales of Miletus who got them across for him. For when Croesus could not figure out how to get his army across the river (for they say that these bridges did not yet exist at that time), they say that Thales, who was present in the camp, made the river, which was flowing on the left side of the army, flow on its right side too. And he did this in the following way: he dug a deep canal in the shape of a crescent beginning above the camp so that the water, diverted in this way along the canal from its original course, would flow around to the rear and then, once it had passed the camp, would flow into its original bed. So that as soon as the river had been split into two it became fordable on both sides.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Political Advisor (P7–P8)

P7 (A4) Hdt. 1.170

χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θαλέω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὰ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν.

P8 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.25

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἄριστα βεβουλευθῆναι. Κροίσου γοῦν πέμψαντος πρὸς Μιλησίους ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἐκώλυσεν ὅπερ Κύρου κρατήσαντος ἔσωσε τὴν πόλιν [. . . = **P11**].

Prediction of a Solar Eclipse (P9–P10)

P9 (A5) Hdt. 1.74

διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε, τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης, τὴν ἡμέρην ἑξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὗρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή.

¹ This solar eclipse occurred on May 28, 585 BC. It is uncertain whether Thales possessed the means to predict it.

THALES

The Political Advisor (P7–P8)

P7 (A4) Herodotus, *Histories*

Useful too [scil. like that of Bias of Priene], before the destruction of Ionia, was that [i.e. advice] of Thales of Miletus (who was Phoenician by descent). He urged that the Ionians establish a single council, which should be located in Teos (for Teos is in the middle of Ionia), and that the other inhabited cities should be considered as being nothing less than demes.

P8 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And he seems to have given excellent advice in political matters too. Indeed, when Croesus sent an embassy to the Milesians to propose an alliance, he prevented it; and this saved the city after Cyrus' victory.¹

¹ Cyrus conquered Croesus and Lydia in the middle of the sixth century BC.

Prediction of a Solar Eclipse (P9–P10)

P9 (A5) Herodotus, *Histories*

After they [i.e. Alyattes and Cyaxares] had been waging war inconclusively, it came to pass at an encounter in the sixth year that just when they had engaged a battle, the day was suddenly transformed into night. Thales of Miletus had predicted to the Ionians that this transformation of the day would take place, and he had determined beforehand as the exact time the very year in which the change actually took place.¹

P10 (A5) Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.65

Θαλῆν δὲ Εὐδήμος ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογικαῖς ἱστορίαις [Frag. 143 Wehrli] τὴν γενομένην ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου προειπεῖν φησι, καθ' οὓς χρόνους συνήψαν μάχην πρὸς ἀλλήλους Μῆδοί τε καὶ Λυδοὶ βασιλεύοντος Κυ-αξάρους μὲν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου πατρὸς Μήδων, Ἀλυάττου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου Λυδῶν [. . .] εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ χρόνοι ἀμφὶ τὴν ν' Ὀλυμπιάδα.

Married? (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.25–26

[. . . = **P8**] καὶ αὐτὸς¹ δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ἱστορεῖ [Frag. 45 Wehrli], μονήρῃ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ ἰδι-αστήν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτὸν καὶ Κύβισθον υἱὸν σχεῖν οἱ δὲ ἄγαμον μέναι, τῆς δὲ ἀδελφῆς τὸν υἱὸν θέσθαι [. . . = **P17a**].

¹ καὶ αὐτὸς] Κλύτος Menagius

Attitude to Life (P12–P15)

Indifference to Human Affairs (P12–P13)

P12 (A9) Plat. *Theaet.* 174a

[ΣΩ.] ὥσπερ καὶ Θαλῆν ἀστρονομοῦντα [. . .] καὶ ἄνω βλέποντα, πεσόντα εἰς φρέαρ, Θράττά τις ἐμμελῆς

THALES

P10 (A5) Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*

Eudemus says in his *History of Astronomy* that Thales had predicted the solar eclipse which took place at the time when the Medes and the Lydians—Cyaxares, father of Astyages, was reigning over the Medes, and Alyattes, son of Croesus, over the Lydians—were joining battle with one another [. . .] This happened around the 50th Olympiad [= 580/76].

See also **R15–R18**

*Married?*⁹ (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And yet he himself says, as Heraclides [scil. of Pontus] reports, that he lived in solitude and as a private person. Some say that he married and had a son named Cybisthus, others that he remained a bachelor but adopted his sister's son [. . .].

Attitude to Life (P12–P15)

Indifference to Human Affairs (P12–P13)

P12 (A9) Plato, *Theaetetus*

It is said [. . .] that Thales, while doing astronomy and looking upward, fell into a well, and that a witty and charming

καὶ χαρίεσσα θεραπαινὶς ἀποσκῶψαι λέγεται ὡς τὰ
μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ προθυμοῖτο εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν
αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ πόδας λανθάνει αὐτόν.

P13 (59 A30) Arist. *EN* 6.7 1141b2–8

διὸ [. . . cf. **ANAXAG. P29**] καὶ Θαλῆν καὶ τοὺς τοιού-
τους σοφοὺς μὲν φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασιν εἶναι, ὅταν
ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέροντα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ
περιττὰ μὲν καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ δαιμόνια
εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς φασιν, ἄχρηστα δ', ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώ-
πινα ἀγαθὰ ζητοῦσιν.

Practicality (P14–P15)

P14 (Th 22 Wöhrle) Plat. *Rep.* 10 600a

[ΣΩ.] ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ εἰς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ
ἐπίνοια καὶ εὐμήχανοι εἰς τέχνας ἢ τινας ἄλλας πρά-
ξεις λέγονται, ὥσπερ αὖ Θάλεώ τε πέρι τοῦ Μιλησίου
καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος τοῦ Σκύθου;

P15 (< A10) Arist. *Pol.* 1.11 1259a9–18

ὄνειδιζόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ὡς ἀνωφελοῦς
τῆς φιλοσοφίας οὔσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν αὐτόν

THALES

Thracian handmaiden made fun of him, saying that he was eager to know what was in the sky but did not see what was in front of him and at his feet.¹

¹ This anecdote, which may derive from Aesop (Fab. 40 Haus-rath, 65 Chambry) and was destined to enjoy an enormous success, is repeated and varied in a large number of texts (including e.g. **ANAXIMEN. R11a**; Diogenes Laertius 1.34; (Ps.?)-Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 1.1; etc.).

P13 (59 A30) Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

That [scil. because wisdom is knowing what is most honorable by nature] is why people say that [. . .] Thales and men like that are wise but not prudent, when they see that they do not know what is advantageous for themselves; and they say that what they know is extraordinary and marvelous and difficult and divine—but useless, since they do not try to find what is good for humans.

Practicality (P14–P15)

P14 (≠ DK) Plato, *Republic*

[Socrates:] Or, as would be appropriate for the accomplishments of a wise man, are many ingenious inventions for the arts or any other practical activities reported [scil. for Homer] as they are for Thales of Miletus and Anacharsis the Scythian?

P15 (< A10) Aristotle, *Politics*

As people reproached him on account of his poverty, saying that philosophy is useless, he is reported to have ascer-

ἐλαιῶν φορὰν ἐσομένην ἐκ τῆς ἀστρολογίας, ἔτι χειμῶνος ὄντος εὐπορήσαντα χρημάτων ὀλίγων ἀρραβῶνας διαδοῦναι τῶν ἐλαιουργίων τῶν τ' ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Χίῳ πάντων, ὀλίγου μισθωσάμενον ἅτ' οὐθενὸς ἐπιβάλλοντος· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, πολλῶν ζητουμένων ἅμα καὶ ἐξαίφνης, ἐκμισθοῦντα ὃν τρόπον ἡβούλετο, πολλὰ χρήματα συλλέξαντα ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι ῥάδιόν ἐστι πλουτεῖν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, ἃν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ περὶ ὃ σπονδάζουσιν.

Apothegms and Other Sayings (P16–P18)

P16 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.35

τῶν τε ἀδομένων αὐτοῦ τάδε εἶναι·

οὐ τι τὰ πολλὰ ἔπη φρονίμην ἀπεφήνατο δόξαν·
 ἔν τι μάτενε σοφόν,
 ἔν τι κεδνὸν αἰροῦ·
 λύσεις¹ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν κωτίλων
 γλώσσας ἀπεραντολόγους. [SH 521]

¹ δήσεις Diels

P17 (< A1) Diog. Laert.

a 1.26

[. . . = **P11**] ὅτε καὶ ἐρωτηθέντα διὰ τί οὐ τεκνοποιεῖ,
 διὰ φιλοτεκνίαν εἰπεῖν. καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῆς μητρὸς

THALES

tained on the basis of astronomy, while the winter was still in its course, that there was going to be a large crop of olives; with the little money he possessed, he paid deposits on all the olive-presses in Miletus and Chios, renting them cheaply since no one was competing with him. When the moment came, as all at once many people needed them suddenly, he rented them out at as high a price as he pleased and made a lot of money—thereby demonstrating that it is easy for philosophers to become rich if they wish, but that this is not what they are eager to do.

*Apothegms and Other Sayings (P16–P18)*¹

¹ Some of these sayings are also attributed to the Seven Sages (cf. **MOR. T35**).

P16 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Among his songs there are the following:

Many words do not manifest a sensible opinion.
Search for one thing: what is wise.
Choose one thing: what is good.
For you will undo the endlessly talking tongues
Of chattering men.

P17 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

a

[. . .] When he was asked why he did not have children, he replied, “because of my love for children.” And they say

ἀναγκαζούσης αὐτὸν γῆμαι, ἔλεγεν, οὐδέπω καιρός. εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ παρήβησεν ἐγκειμένης, εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι καιρός.

b 1.33

Ἑρμῖππος δ' ἐν τοῖς Βίοις [Frag. 11 Wehrli] εἰς τοῦτον ἀναφέρει τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τινων περὶ Σωκράτους. ἔφασκε γάρ, φασί, τριῶν τούτων ἔνεκα χάριν ἔχειν τῇ τύχῃ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἑλλήν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος.

c 1.35–37

φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἀποφθέγματα αὐτοῦ τάδε· πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων θεός· ἀγέννητον γάρ. κάλλιστον κόσμος· ποίημα γὰρ θεοῦ. μέγιστον τόπος· ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ. τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει. ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων. σοφώτατον χρόνος· ἀνευρίσκει γὰρ πάντα.

οὐδὲν ἔφη τὸν θάνατον διαφέρειν τοῦ ζῆν. σὺ οὖν, ἔφη τις, διὰ τί οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις; ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

[36] πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί πρότερον γεγόνοι, νύξ ἢ ἡμέρα, ἢ νύξ, ἔφη, μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ πρότερον.

ἡρώτησέ τις αὐτὸν εἰ λήθῃ θεοὺς ἄνθρωπος ἀδικῶν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διανοούμενος, ἔφη. πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν

THALES

that when his mother tried to compel him to marry he would say, "It is not yet the right time," and then, as she insisted when he was no longer young, "It is no longer the right time."

b

Hermippus in his *Lives* attributes to him what certain people say about Socrates. For they say that he used to say that he was grateful to fortune for three things: first, that he was born a human being and not an animal; second, that he was born a man and not a woman; and third, that he was born a Greek and not a barbarian.

c

The following sayings of his are also reported: "The oldest of beings is god; for he is unborn." "The most beautiful thing is the world; for it was made by god." "The biggest thing is place; for it contains everything." "The fastest thing is mind; for it races through everything." "The strongest thing is necessity; for it rules over everything." "The wisest thing is time; for it discovers everything."

He said that death is not at all different from life. Someone said, "Then why don't you die?" He answered, "Because there is no difference."

[36] To the man who wanted to know which came about earlier, night or day, he replied, "Night, earlier by a day."

Someone asked him whether a man escapes the notice of the gods if he commits injustice; he answered, "not even

ἐρόμενον εἰ ὁμόση¹ μὴ μεμοιχενκέναι, οὐ χεῖρον, ἔφη, μοιχείας ἐπιουρκία;²

ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη, τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι· τί δὲ εὐκολον, τὸ ἄλλω ὑποθέσθαι· τί ἡδιστον, τὸ ἐπι-
τυγχάνειν· τί τὸ θεῖον, τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τε-
λευτήν. τί δὲ καινὸν εἴη τεθεαμένος ἔφη γέροντα
τύραννον.

πῶς ἂν τις ἀτυχίαν ῥᾶστα φέροι, εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
χεῖρον πράσσοντας βλέποι· πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαι-
ότατα βιώσαιμεν, εἰ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ
μὴ δρῶμεν [37] τίς εὐδαίμων, ὃ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής,
τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν³ εὖπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν⁴ εὐπαίδευτος.

φίλων παρόντων καὶ ἀπόντων μεμνήσθαι φησι· μὴ
τὴν ὄψιν καλλωπίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν
εἶναι καλόν.

μὴ πλούτει, φησί, κακῶς, μηδὲ διαβαλλέτω σε λό-
γος πρὸς τοὺς πίστεως κεκοινωνηκότας.

οὓς ἂν ἐράνους εἰσενέγκῃς, φησί, τοῖς γονεῦσιν,
τοὺς αὐτοὺς προσδέχου καὶ παρὰ τῶν τέκνων.

¹ ὁμόσηι mss., corr. Roeper

² ita interpunct Sternbach

³ ψυχὴν BF¹ (Q): τύχην FP³

⁴ φύσιν BF¹ (Q): ψυχὴν FP³

d 1.40

τούτου ἐστὶν τὸ Γινῶθι σαυτόν, ὅπερ Ἀντισθένης ἐν
ταῖς Διαδοχαῖς Φημονόης εἶναί φησιν [FGrHist 508
F3], ἐξειδιποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Χίλωνα.

THALES

if he intends to." And to the adulterer who asked whether he should swear that he had not committed adultery, he answered, "Is not perjury worse than adultery?"

Asked what is difficult, he answered, "to know oneself"; what is easy, "to give advice to someone else"; what is most pleasant, "to have success"; what is divine, "that which has neither beginning nor end"; what was the most unheard of thing he had seen, he said, "an old tyrant."

How one could most easily endure misfortune? "If one sees one's enemies doing worse." How we could live best and most justly? "If we do not do ourselves what we blame others for doing." [37] Who is happy? "He who is healthy in body, resourceful in spirit, well trained in nature."

He says that we should remember our friends, be they present or absent; not to beautify our appearance, but to be beautiful in what we do.

He says, "Do not enrich yourself dishonestly, nor let any utterance set you against those who share your trust."

He says, "The very same favors that you did for your parents, expect them from your children too."

d

To him belongs the saying "Know yourself," which Antisthenes in his *Successions* attributes to Phemonoê, saying that Chilon appropriated it for himself.

P18 (< A19) Apul. *Flor.* 18

“[. . .] satis [. . .] mihi fuerit mercedis [. . .] si id quod a me didicisti cum proferre ad quosdam coeperis, sibi non adsciveris, sed eius inventi me potius quam alium reperi-
torem praedicaris.”

Death (P19)

P19 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.39

ὁ δ' οὖν σοφὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος γυμνικὸν ὑπὸ τε καύματος καὶ δύψους καὶ ἀσθενείας, ἥδη γηραιός.

Statue (P20)

P20 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34 (< Lobon Frag. 1 Garulli]

[. . . = **R8**] ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνης τόδε·

τόνδε Θαλῆν Μίλητος Ἰὰς θρέψας ἀνέδειξεν
ἀστρολόγων πάντων πρεσβύτατον σοφίῃ.

THALES

P18 (< A19) Apuleius, *Florida*

[to Mandrolytus of Priene, who offered to pay him whatever he wished for teaching him the calculation of the sun's orbit, cf. **R13**:] "It would be an adequate recompense for me [. . .] if, when you begin to tell people what you have learned from me, you do not attribute it to yourself but declare that I am the author of this discovery rather than anyone else."

Death (P19)

P19 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

This sage died while he was observing an athletic competition, because of the heat, thirst, and his weakness, when he was already old.

Statue (P20)

P20 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] [Scil. Lobon says that] his statue bears the following inscription:

Ionian Miletus nursed this man, Thales, and revealed
him

As the most venerable of all astronomers in
wisdom.

Iconography (P21)

P21 (\neq DK) Richter I, pp. 82–83 and Figures 321–25; Richter-Smith, pp. 209–10 and Figures 171–72; Koch, "Iconographie," in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 217–19.

THALES [11 DK]

D

Thales (Probably) Left Behind
No Writings (D1–D2)

D1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

καὶ κατὰ τινας μὲν σύγγραμμα κατέλιπεν οὐδέν [. . .
= **R6**].

D2 (< Th 184 Wöhrle) Gal. *In. Hipp. Nat. hom.* 1.27 (= p. 37.9–11 Mewaldt)

[. . .] ὅτι Θαλῆς ἀπεφώνηκεν στοιχείον μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ δεικνύναι οὐκ ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἅπασιν καὶ τοῦτο πεπίστευται.

Water as the Principle (D3–D4)

D3 (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b18–22

τὸ μέντοι πλήθος καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς οὐ

THALES

D

*Thales (Probably) Left Behind
No Writings (D1–D2)*

D1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

According to some, he did not leave behind a written treatise [. . .].

D2 (≠ DK) Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On the Nature of Man*

[. . .] we are not able to demonstrate on the basis of a treatise by Thales that he declared that water was the only element, even if this is what everyone believes.

Water as the Principle (D3–D4)

D3 (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

However, not all [scil. of those earliest philosophers who assert that things comes from a substrate] say the same

τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν [. . . = **R9**]
 ὕδωρ φησὶν εἶναι (διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφύ-
 νατο εἶναι) [. . . = **R32a**].

D4 (< Th 210 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

[. . . = **R12**] οὗτος ἔφη ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ
 τέλος τὸ ὕδωρ. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα συνίστασθαι
 πηγνυμένου καὶ πάλιν διανιεμένου ἐπιφέρεισθαι τε
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ σεισμοὺς καὶ πνευμάτων
 συστροφὰς καὶ ἄστρον κινήσεις γίνεσθαι [. . . = **R39**].

The World (D5)

D5 (A13b) Aët. 2.1.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ κόσμον]

Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

The Heavenly Bodies (D6)

D6 (A17a) Aët.

a 2.13.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [τίς ἡ οὐσία τῶν ἄστρον πλανητῶν
 καὶ ἀπλανῶν]

Θαλῆς γεώδη μὲν ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα.

b 2.20.9 (Stob.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἡλίου]

Θαλῆς γεοειδῆ τὸν ἥλιον.

THALES

thing regarding the number and the kind of a principle of this sort. But Thales [. . .] says it is water (and it is for this reason that he declared that the earth rests upon water) [. . .].

D4 (\neq DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* [. . .] He said that the beginning of everything and its end is water. For it is out of this that all things are formed, when it solidifies and liquefies in turn,¹ and all things rest upon it, and it is also from this that earthquakes, concentrations of winds, and the motions of the stars come [. . .].

¹ This explanation seems more like reconstruction (of Aristotelian origin) than information.

The World (D5)

D5 (A13b) Aëtius

Thales and those who follow him: there is [scil. only] one world.

The Heavenly Bodies (D6)

D6 (A17a) Aëtius

a

Thales: the stars are made of earth, but they are on fire.

b

Thales: the sun is made of earth.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Earth (D7–D8)

D7 (< A14) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294a28–32

οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὕδατος κείσθαι. τοῦτον γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον
παρειλήφαμεν τὸν λόγον, ὃν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν
Μιλήσιον, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλωτὴν εἶναι μένουσαν ὥσπερ
ξύλον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον (καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος
μὲν οὐθὲν πέφυκε μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος) [. . . =
R33a].

D8 (< A15) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 3.14

ait enim terrarum orbem aqua sustineri et vehi more
navigii mobilitateque eius fluctuare, tum quum dicitur
tremere. non est ergo mirum si abundat humor ad flumina
fundenda, quum mundus in humore sit totus.

The Flooding of the Nile (D9)

D9 (A16) Aët. 4.1.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ Νεῖλου ἀναβάσεως]

Θαλῆς τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους οἶεται πνέοντας τῇ Αἰ-
γύπτῳ ἀντιπροσώπους ἐπαίρειν τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸν ὄγκον
διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐκροὰς αὐτοῦ τῇ παροιδήσει τοῦ ἀντι-
παρήκοντος πελάγους ἀνακόπτεσθαι.

THALES

The Earth (D7–D8)

D7 (< A14) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

The others say that it [i.e. the earth] rests on water. For the most ancient explanation that has come down to us, which they say that Thales of Miletus stated, is that it stays put because it floats like wood or something else of this sort (for by nature none of these things stays put in the air, but rather on water) [. . .].

D8 (< A15) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

For he says that the terrestrial globe rests upon water and moves like a boat and fluctuates by reason of its mobility when there is what is called an earthquake. So it is not surprising if there is an abundant quantity of fluid that pours forth as streams, since the whole world is located in a fluid.

The Flooding of the Nile (D9)

D9 (A16) Aëtius

Thales thinks that the Etesian winds that blow upon Egypt in the opposite direction raise the Nile's bulk because its outflow is driven back by the swelling of the sea which comes to meet it.¹

¹ Herodotus 2.20 mentions this theory without attributing it to anyone.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Souls and Divinities (D10–D11)

D10 (< A22) Arist. *An.* 1.5 411a7–8

[. . .] *Θαλῆς ὥγήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι.*

D11

a (A22) Arist. *An.* 1.2 405a19–21

ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Θαλῆς ἐξ ὧν ἀπομνημονεύουσι κινητικόν τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπολαβεῖν, εἴπερ τὸν λίθον ψυχὴν ἔχειν ὅτι τὸν σίδηρον κινεῖ.

b (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

[. . . = **R37**] Ἀριστοτέλης [**D11a**] δὲ καὶ Ἱππίας [**HIPPIAS D23**] φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀψύχοις μεταδιδόναι ψυχῆς, τεκμαιρόμενον ἐκ τῆς λίθου τῆς μαγνήτιδος καὶ τοῦ ἡλέκτρον.

THALES

Souls and Divinities (D10–D11)

D10 (< A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

[. . .] Thales thought that all things are full of gods.¹

¹ Cf. Plato, *Laws* 899b.

See also **R34a**

D11

a (A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

Thales too seems, from what is reported, to have thought that the soul is something that moves, for he says that the stone [i.e. the magnet] has a soul, given that it moves iron.

b (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Aristotle and Hippias say that he attributed a soul to inanimate beings too, judging from the evidence of the magnet and of amber.

THALES

R

*Earliest Testimonies to His Fame
Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Herodotus,
and Democritus (R1)*

R1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

[. . . = **R15**] ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφάνης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος
θαυμάζει. μαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Δη-
μόκριτος.

Hippias

See **THAL. D11b**

Aristophanes

See **DRAM. T13–T14**

THALES

R

*Earliest Testimonies to His Fame
Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Herodotus,
and Democritus (R1)*

R1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] That is why Xenophanes and Herodotus [cf. **P2**, **P6**, **P7**, **P9**] admire him. Heraclitus [cf. **HER. D26**] and Democritus [cf. **THAL. P2**] also bear witness to him.

Hippias

See **THAL. D11b**

Aristophanes

See **DRAM. T13–T14**

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

From the Sage to the Theoretician (R2–R4)

R2 (< Th 20 Wöhrle) Plat. *Prot.* 343a

[ΠΡ.] τούτων ἦν καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Πιπτακὸς ὁ Μυτιληναῖος καὶ Βίας ὁ Πριηνεὺς καὶ Σόλων ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λίνδιος καὶ Μύσων ὁ Χηνεύς, καὶ ἔβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγετο Λακεδαιμόνιος Χίλων.

R3 (Th 110 Wöhrle) Plut. *Sol.* 3.8.1–3 80B–C

καὶ ὅλως ἔοικεν ἡ Θάλεω μόνου σοφία τότε περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας ἐξικέσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦνομα τῆς σοφίας ὑπῆρξε.

R4 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34

οἶδε δ' αὐτὸν ἀστρονομούμενον καὶ Τίμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἐπαινεῖ αὐτὸν λέγων [Frag. 23 Di Marco].

οἶόν θ' ἐπὶ τὰ Θάλητα σοφῶν σοφὸν
<ἀστρονομῆσαι>¹ [. . . = **R8**]

¹ <ἀστρονομῆσαι> Magnelli

Alleged Writings (R5–R8)

R5 (< A11) Flav. Jos. *Apion.* 1.2

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων

THALES

From the Sage to the Theoretician (R2–R4)

R2 (≠ DK) Plato, *Protagoras*

[Protagoras:] To such men [scil. those capable of making laconic pronouncements] belonged Thales of Miletus, Pitagoras of Mytilene, Bias of Priene, our own Solon, Cleobulus of Lindos, Myson of Chenae, and people say that the seventh among them was Chilon of Sparta [cf. **MOR. T35**].

R3 (≠ DK) Plutarch, *Solon*

And in general it seems that at that time only Thales' wisdom, by reason of its theoretical aspect, went beyond practical necessity: the others [scil. of the Seven Sages] possess the name of wisdom from their excellence in politics.

R4 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Timon too knows of him as an astronomer, and he praises him in his *Mockeries* (*Silloi*), saying,

As, among the Seven Sages, Thales the sage
 <practiced astronomy> [. . .].

See also **P1b**

Alleged Writings (R5–R8)

R5 (< A11) Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*

Everyone agrees unanimously that the first Greeks who

πρώτους παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον [. . . = **PHER. P8**] Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν [. . .] ὀλίγα συγγράφειν καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.

R6 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

[. . . = **D1**] ἡ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένη Ναυτικὴ ἀστρολογία Φώκου λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ Σαμίου. [. . .] κατὰ τινας δὲ μόνα δύο συνέγραψε, Περὶ τροπῆς καὶ Ἰσημερίας, τὰ ἄλλ' ἀκατάληπτα εἶναι δοκιμάσας.

R7 (< B1) Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 18 403A

[. . .] εἴ γε Θαλῆς ἐποίησεν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν <τὴν> εἰς αὐτὸν¹ ἀναφερομένην Ἀστρολογίαν.

¹ <τὴν> εἰς αὐτὸν Turnebus: εἰς αὐτὴν mss.

R8 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.34

[. . . = **R4**] ἀστρονομήματα¹ δὲ γεγραμμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φησι Λόβων ὁ Ἀργεῖος [Frag. 1 Garulli] εἰς ἔπη τείνειν διακόσια [. . .].

¹ ἀστρονομήματα BP¹(Q) F²: ἀστρονόμημα. τὰ F¹P⁴

THALES

philosophized about celestial phenomena and divine matters, like [. . .] Thales, [. . .] wrote only very little; these writings seem to the Greeks to be the most ancient ones of all, and they can scarcely believe that they were written by them.

R6 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] for the *Nautical Astronomy* attributed to him is said to be by Phocus of Samos. [. . .] But according to other people he wrote only two works, *On the Solstice* and *On the Equinox*, for he was of the opinion that everything else was impossible to know.

R7 (< B1) Plutarch, *On the Pythian Oracles*

[. . .] if Thales really did write the *Astronomy* that is attributed to him.

R8 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] Lobon of Argos says that what was written by him about astronomy amounts to two hundred lines [. . .].

See also **R44**

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Science of Nature (R9–R12)

R9 (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b20–21

[. . . = **D3**] Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας [. . . = **R32a**].

R10 (< B1) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 23.29–32

Θαλῆς δὲ πρῶτος παραδέδοται τὴν περὶ φύσεως ἱστορίαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐκφῆναι, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων προγεγονότων, ὥς καὶ τῷ Θεοφράστῳ δοκεῖ [< Frag. 225 FHS&G], αὐτὸς δὲ πολὺ διενεγκὼν ἐκείνων, ὥς ἀποκρῦψαι πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ.

R11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23, 24

μετὰ δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐγένετο θεωρίας. [. . .] πρῶτος δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως διελέχθη, ὥς τινες.

R12 (< Th 210 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

λέγεται Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ἓνα τῶν ἐπτά σοφῶν πρῶτον ἐπικειρηκέναι φιλοσοφίαν φυσικὴν. [. . . = **D4**]

The Initiator of the Ionian Line of Descent of Greek Philosophy

See **DOX. T20, T21**

THALES

The Science of Nature (R9–R12)

R9 (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] Thales, the founder of this sort of philosophy [i.e. the one that asserts that things derive from one or more principles that serve as their substrate] [. . .].

R10 (< B1) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Thales is reported to have been the first to reveal the study of nature to the Greeks; many others had preceded him, as is the view of Theophrastus too, but he was far superior to them so that he eclipsed all his predecessors.

R11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

After having engaged in politics, he devoted himself to the observation of nature. [. . .] And he was the first to speak about nature as well, according to some people.

R12 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

They say that Thales of Miletus, one of the Seven Sages, was the first to make an attempt at natural philosophy.

The Initiator of the Ionian Line of Descent of Greek Philosophy

See **DOX. T20, T21**

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Scientific Discoveries Attributed to Thales (R13–R31) A General Catalog (R13)

R13 (< A19) Apul. *Flor.* 18

Thales Milesius ex septem illis sapientiae memoratis viris facile praecipuus (enim geometricae penes Graios primus repertor et naturae certissimus explorator et astrorum peritissimus contemplator) maximas res parvis lineis repperit: temporum ambitus, ventorum flatus, stellarum meatus, tonitruum sonora miracula, siderum obliqua curricula, solis annua reverticula: itidem lunae vel nascentis incrementa, vel senescentis dispendia, vel delinquentis obstiticula. idem sane iam proclivi senectute divinam rationem de sole commentus est; quam equidem non didici modo, verum etiam experiundo comprobavi: quoties sol magnitudine sua circulum, quem permeat, metiatur.

THALES

Scientific Discoveries Attributed to Thales (R13–R31)¹ A General Catalog (R13)

¹ Among the many other discoveries attributed to Thales are the armillary sphere (Cicero, *On the Republic* 1.22), the solstices (Heron, *Definitions* 138.11 = Eudemus, Frag. 145 Wehrli), and the phases of the moon and the equinoxes (Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation* 10.14.10).

R13 (< A19) Apuleius, *Florida*

Thales of Miletus, the most preeminent by far of those Seven famous for their wisdom—indeed, he was the first among the Greeks to discover geometry, and was an unerring investigator of nature and a most experienced observer of the stars—discovered the greatest things by means of small lines: the procession of the seasons, the blowing of the winds, the course of the stars, the prodigious sounds of thunderclaps, the slanting trajectory of the stars, the yearly reversion of the sun; and so too the increases of the moon when it waxes, its decreases when it wanes, the obstacles when it is eclipsed. The same man, though already in advanced old age, invented a divine calculation with regard to the sun, which I not only learned but have also confirmed by experiment: it measures the orbit that the sun follows as a multiple of the sun's magnitude.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Astronomical Discoveries (R14–R25)

Trajectory and Size of the Sun (R14)

R14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

πρώτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τροπῆς ἐπὶ τροπὴν πάροδον εὗρε, καὶ πρώτος τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος <τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς σελήνης μέγεθος>¹ τοῦ σεληναίου ἑπτακοσιοστὸν καὶ εἰκοστὸν μέρος ἀπεφήνατο κατὰ τινας.

¹ suppl. Diels

The Solar Eclipse (R15–R18)

R15 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

δοκεῖ δὲ κατὰ τινας πρώτος ἀστρολογῆσαι καὶ ἡλιακὰς ἐκλείψεις καὶ τροπὰς προειπεῖν, ὥς φησιν Εὐδημος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀστρολογουμένων ἱστορίᾳ [Frag. 144 Wehrli] [. . . = **R1**].

R16 (< A17) Theon Sm. *Exp.*, p. 198.14–18

Εὐδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις [Frag. 145 Wehrli] [. . .] Θαλῆς δὲ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ περίοδον, ὥς οὐκ ἴση ἀεὶ συμβαίνει.

THALES

Astronomical Discoveries (R14–R25) *Trajectory and Size of the Sun (R14)*

R14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He was the first to discover the trajectory from one tropic to the other, and according to some people the first to declare that the size of the sun <is the 720th part of the solar circle, and the size of the moon> is the 720th part of the lunar one.

The Solar Eclipse (R15–R18)

R15 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Some people are of the view that he was the first to do astronomy and to predict solar eclipses and solstices, as Eudemus says in his *History of Astronomy*.

R16 (< A17) Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato* (extract from Dercyllides)

Eudemus reports in his *Astronomy* [. . .] that Thales [scil. was the first to discover] the eclipse of the sun and the fact that the periodicity of its revolutions is not always equal.

R17 (Th 91 Wöhrle) Aristarch. Samius in Comm. in *Od.* 20.156 (P.Oxy. 3710 Col. 2.36–43; vol. 53 [1986], 96–97, ed. Haslam)

ὅτι ἐν νοιμηνίαι αἱ ἐκλείψεις δηλο[ί] | Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ Σάμ[ι]ος γράφων· ἔφη τε | ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς ὅτι ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλ[ι]ον σελήνης ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτῷ γενλομένης, σημειουμέ[νης c. 6] . . . τῆς | ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ ποιεῖται τὴν ἔγλειψιν, | ἥ[ν] οἱ μὲν τριακάδα καλοῦσιν ο[ί] δὲ νοιμηνίαν.

R18 (< A17a) Aët. 2.24.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ἐκλείπειν τὸν ἥλιον τῆς σελήνης αὐτὸν ὑπερχομένης κατὰ κάθετον, οὔσης φύσει γεώδους· βλέπεσθαι δὲ τοῦτο κατοπτρικῶς¹ ὑποτιθεμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ.

¹ verbum obscurum et fortasse corruptum

The Light of the Moon (R19)

R19 (A17b) Aët. 2.28.5 (Stob.) [περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης]

Θαλῆς πρῶτος ἔφη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φωτίζεσθαι τὴν σελήνην.

THALES

R17 (\neq DK) Aristarchus of Samos in an anonymous commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*

The fact that eclipses take place at the new moon is explained by Aristarchus of Samos, who writes, "Thales said that the sun is eclipsed when the moon comes to be located in front of it, the day on which it produces the eclipse (some people call this day 'the thirtieth' and others 'the new moon') being marked [. . .]."

R18 ($<$ A17a) Aëtius

Thales was the first to say that an eclipse of the sun occurs when the moon, which by nature is made of earth, passes perpendicularly beneath it; this is seen in the manner of a mirror (?), when the disk comes to be placed under it.

The Light of the Moon (R19)

R19 (A17b) Aëtius

Thales was the first to say that the moon is illuminated by the sun.¹

¹ This is a typical case of honorific attribution. In fact, the discovery belongs to Parmenides (**PARM. D28**).

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Other Heavenly Bodies (R20–R22)

R20 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.23

Καλλίμαχος δ' αὐτὸν οἶδεν εὐρετὴν τῆς ἄρκτου τῆς
μικρᾶς λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις οὕτως·

καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι
τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ᾗ πλέουσι Φοίνικες
[Frag. 191.54–55 Pfeiffer]

R21 (A18) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 18

occasum matutinum Vergiliarum Hesiodus (nam huius quoque nomine exstat Astrologia) tradidit fieri, quum aequinoctium autumni conficeretur [Frag. 290 Merkelbach-West], Thales vigesimo quinto die ab aequinoctio [. . .].

R22 (B2) Schol. in Arat. 172, p. 369.24

Θαλῆς [. . .] δύο αὐτὰς εἶπεν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν βόρειον τὴν δὲ νότιον.

Zones of the Heavens (R23)

R23 (A13c) Aët. 2.12.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ διαίρέσεως οὐρανοῦ]

Θαλῆς [. . .] μεμερίσθαι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ σφαῖραν εἰς κύκλους πέντε, οὕστινας προσαγορεύουσι ζώνας [. . .].

THALES

Other Heavenly Bodies (R20–R22)

R20 (< A1) Callimachus in Diogenes Laertius

Callimachus knows of him as the discoverer of the Great Bear, for he speaks in his *Iambos* as follows:

And he was said to have numbered the little stars
Of the Great Bear, by means of which the
Phoenicians navigate.

R21 (A18) Pliny, *Natural History*

Hesiod (for an *Astronomy* is also extant under his name) reports that the morning setting of the Pleiades takes place at the autumnal equinox, Thales twenty-five days after the equinox [. . .].

R22 (B2) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Thales [. . .] said that there are two of them [i.e. the Hyades], the northern one and the southern one.

Zones of the Heavens (R23)

R23 (< A13c) Aëtius

Thales [. . .]: the sphere of the whole of heaven is divided into five circles, which they [i.e. besides Thales, Pythagoras and his disciples] call zones.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Position of the Earth (R24)

R24 (A15) Aët. 3.11.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θέσεως γῆς]
οἱ ἀπὸ Θάλεω τὴν γῆν μέσσην [. . . = **XEN. D43**].

Division of the Year (R25)

R25 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

τάς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν καὶ εἰς
τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας διελεῖν.

Geometrical Discoveries (R26–R31)

Theorems and Demonstrations (R26–R30)

R26 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl.* Prop. 15, theor. 8 (299.1–5
Friedlein)

τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ θεώρημα δείκνυσιν, ὅτι δύο εὐθειῶν
ἀλλήλας τεμνουσῶν αἱ κατὰ κορυφὴν γωνίαι ἴσαι εἰ-
σίν, εὐρημένον μὲν, ὥς φησὶν Εὐδήμος [Frag. 135
Wehrli], ὑπὸ Θαλοῦ πρώτου [. . .].

R27 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24–25

παρά τε Αἰγυπτίων γεωμετερεῖν μαθόντα φησὶ Παμ-
φίλη [Frag. 1 Cagnazzi] πρῶτον καταγράψαι κύκλον τὸ
τρίγωνον ὀρθογώνιον, καὶ θῆσαι βούν. οἱ δὲ Πυθα-
γόραν φασίν, ὧν ἔστιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ λογιστικός.

THALES

Position of the Earth (R24)

R24 (A15) Aëtius

The followers of Thales: the earth is in the center [. . .].

Division of the Year (R25)

R25 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

They say that he was the one who discovered the seasons of the year and divided it into 365 days.

Geometrical Discoveries (R26–R31)

Theorems and Demonstrations (R26–R30)

R26 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

Thus this theorem demonstrates that when two straight lines intersect one another, the corresponding angles are equal, a discovery, as Eudemus says, first made by Thales [. . .].

R27 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Pamphilê says that after he learned geometry from the Egyptians, he was the first to inscribe a right triangle in a circle, and that he sacrificed a bull [scil. in celebration]. Others, including Apollodorus the arithmetician, say that it was Pythagoras [cf. **PYTH. c D7a**].

R28 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl.* Prop. 6, theor. 2 (250.20–251.2 Friedlein)

τῷ μὲν οὖν Θαλῇ τῷ παλαιῷ πολλῶν τε ἄλλων εὐρέσεως ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεωρήματος χάρις. λέγεται γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἐπιστῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὥς ἄρα παντὸς ἰσοσκελοῦς αἱ πρὸς τῇ βάσει γωνίαι ἴσαι εἰσίν, ἀρχαικώτερον δὲ τὰς ἴσας ὁμοίας προσειρηκέναι.

R29 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl.* Prop. 26, theor. 17 (352.14–18 Friedlein)

Εὐδήμος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γεωμετρικαῖς ἱστορίαις [Frag. 134 Wehrli] εἰς Θαλῆν τοῦτο ἀνάγει τὸ θεώρημα. τὴν γὰρ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ πλοίων ἀπόστασιν δι' οὗ τρόπου φασὶν αὐτὸν δεικνύναι τούτῳ προσχρησθαί φησιν ἀναγκαῖον.

R30 (A20) Procl. *In Eucl.* Def. 17 (157.10–11 Friedlein)

τὸ μὲν οὖν διχοτομεῖσθαι τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ τῆς διαμέτρου πρῶτον Θαλῆν ἐκείνον ἀποδείξαι φασιν [. . .].

THALES

R28 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

We are indebted to ancient Thales for the discovery, among many other ones, in particular of the following theorem. For they say that he was the first to understand and to state that the angles at the base of every isosceles triangle are equal, even though he used the archaic expression “similar” for “equal.”¹

¹ Diels infers from this passage that Proclus or Eudemus was making use of a mathematical text that was attributed to Thales.

R29 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

Eudemus in his *History of Geometry* assigns this theorem [i.e. the equality of two triangles of which one side and the two neighboring angles are equal] to Thales. For he says that the method by which they say that he demonstrated the distance of ships on the sea requires that one make use of it.

R30 (A20) Proclus, *Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*

They say that the celebrated Thales was the first to demonstrate that a circle is divided into two by its diameter [...].

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Measurement of the Pyramids (R31)

R31

a (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

ὁ δὲ Ἱερώνυμος [Frag. 40 Wehrli] καὶ ἐκμετρήσαί φησιν αὐτὸν τὰς πυραμίδας ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς, παρατηρήσαντα ὅτε ἡμῶν ἰσομεγέθους ἐστίν.

b (A21) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 36.82

mensuram altitudinis earum deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius umbram metiendo qua hora par esse corpori solet.

c (A21) Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 2 147A

τὴν βακτηρίαν στήσας ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς σκιᾶς ἥν ἡ πυραμὶς ἐποίει, γενομένων τῇ ἐπαφῇ τῆς ἀκτίνος δυεῖν τριγώνων ἔδειξας, ὃν ἡ σκιά πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν λόγον εἶχε, τὴν πυραμίδα πρὸς τὴν βακτηρίαν ἔχουσιν.

Aristotle's Reconstructions and Criticisms of Thales' Arguments (R32–R34)

R32

a (< A12) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 983b25–984a3

[. . . = **D3**] λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ὑπόληψιν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ

THALES

The Measurement of the Pyramids (R31)

R31

a (< A1) Hieronymus in Diogenes Laertius

Hieronymus says that he also measured [scil. the height of] the pyramids exactly on the basis of their shadow, by waiting for the moment when it [i.e. our shadow] has the same size as we do.

b (A21) Pliny, *Natural History*

Thales of Miletus discovered how to take their [i.e. the pyramids'] measure by measuring their shadow at the hour when it is equal to [scil. the height of] the body.

c (A21) Plutarch, *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*

You [i.e. Thales] placed a stick at the edge of the shadow which the pyramid made, and as two triangles were formed by contact with the sunbeam, you demonstrated that the pyramid is in the same ratio to the stick as the shadow of the one was to the shadow of the other.

Aristotle's Reconstructions and Criticisms of Thales' Arguments (R32–R34)

R32

a (< A12) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

[. . .] Perhaps he had derived this assumption [cf. **D3**]

πάντων ὁρᾶν τὴν τροφὴν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν (τὸ δ' ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων)—διὰ τε δὴ τοῦτο τὴν ὑπόληψιν λαβὼν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντων τὰ σπέρματα τὴν φύσιν ὑγρὰν ἔχειν· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ τῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῖς ὑγροῖς. εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπалаίους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας οὕτως οἴονται περὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπολαβεῖν. Ὀκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθὺν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τῶν θεῶν ὕδωρ, τὴν καλουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν Στύγα τῶν ποιητῶν¹ τιμιώτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον, ὄρκος δὲ τὸ τιμιώτατόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαία τις αὕτη καὶ παλαιὰ τετύχηκεν οὕσα περὶ τῆς φύσεως δόξα, τάχ' ἂν ἄδηλον εἴη, Θαλῆς μέντοι λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφύνασθαι περὶ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας.

¹ τῶν ποιητῶν secl. Christ

b (< Th 191 Wöhrle) Alex. *In Metaph.* A3, p. 26.16–18

εἰκότως τὸ “λέγεται οὕτως ἀποφύνασθαι”. οὐδὲν γὰρ προφέρεται αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ἐξ οὗ τις τὸ βέβαιον ἔξει τοῦ ταῦτα λέγεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

THALES

from seeing that what nourishes all things is moist and that what is warm itself comes from this [i.e. water] and lives because of it (and what things come about from is the principle of all things)—it is for this reason then that he had this idea, and also from the fact that the seed of all things has a moist nature; and for things that are moist, water is the principle of their nature. But there are some people who think that those who spoke about the gods in ancient times, long before the present generation, and indeed were the first to do so, had formed the same conception about nature: for they made Ocean and Tethys the parents of becoming and the oath of the gods water, what they, being poets, called Styx [cf. **COSM. T6, T7**]; for what is most ancient is most honorable, and an oath is what is most honorable. Well, whether this really is a primeval and ancient view about nature, might well be unclear; however, at least as far as Thales is concerned, people say that he expressed himself in this way about the first cause.

b (≠ DK) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*

The phrase “people say that he expressed himself in this way” is appropriate; for no treatise by him is cited on the basis of which one could be certain that this was said by him in this way.

R33

a (< A14) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294a32–33

[. . . = **D7**] ὥσπερ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὄντα περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὀχοῦντος τὴν γῆν.

b (< A14) Simpl. *In Cael.* 522.16–18

[. . .] πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἴσως ἐπικρατοῦσαν διὰ τὸ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οὕτως ἐν μύθου σχήματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν ἴσως ἐκείθεν τὸν λόγον κεκομικέναι.

R34

a (A22) Arist. *An.* 1.5 411a7–8

καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ δέ τινες αὐτὴν μεμείχθαι φασιν, ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ Θαλῆς ᾤθηται πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι [**D10**].

b (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.27

[. . .] τὸν κόσμον ἔμφυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη.

Assimilations to Later Doctrines (R35–R39)

R35 (A23) Aët. 1.7.11 (Stob.) [περὶ θεοῦ]

Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεόν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔμφυχον

THALES

R33

a (< A14) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

[. . .] as though the explanation given for the earth [cf. **D7**] did not apply as well to the water that bears the earth.

b (< A14) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Aristotle contradicts this opinion, which perhaps is more prevalent because it is also stated among the Egyptians in the form of a myth and because Thales perhaps brought back this explanation from there.

R34

a (A22) Aristotle, *On the Soul*

Some people say that it [i.e. the soul] is mixed in with the whole, which is perhaps also the reason why Thales thought that all things are full of gods [cf. **D10**].

b (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . . he thought] that the universe is animate and full of divinities.

Assimilations to Later Doctrines (R35–R39)

R35 (A23) Aëtius

Thales: god is the intelligence of the world, the universe

ἄμα καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρες· διήκειν δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ
στοιχειώδους ὑγροῦ δύναμιν θείαν κινητικὴν αὐτοῦ.

R36 (A22a) Aët. 4.2.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ψυχῆς]

Θαλῆς ἀπεφάνητο πρῶτος τὴν ψυχὴν φύσιν ἀεικίνη-
τον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον.

R37 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 1.24

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν φασιν ἀθανάτους
τὰς ψυχάς· ὧν ἐστὶ Χοιρίλος ὁ ποιητής [SH 331] [. . .
= **D11b**].

R38 (A23) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.25

Thales enim Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quae-
sivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum: deum autem, eam
mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta fingeret.

R39 (< Th 210 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 1.1

[. . . = **D4**] καὶ τὰ πάντα φέρεσθαι τε καὶ ῥεῖν τῇ τοῦ
πρώτου ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν φύσει συμ-
φερόμενα. θεὸν δὲ τοῦτ' εἶναι, τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε
τελευτὴν ἔχον.

THALES

is animated and at the same time full of divinities; and the divine power passes through the elementary moisture and moves it.

R36 (A22a) Aëtius

Thales was the first to state that the soul is a nature which is always in motion or which moves itself.¹

¹ The disjunction is connected with a celebrated textual problem in Plato, *Phaedrus* 245c.

R37 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Some people also say that he was the first to say that souls are immortal; one of them is Choerilus the poet [. . .].

R38 (A23) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

For Thales of Miletus, who was the first to investigate these matters, said that water is the beginning of things, but that god is the intelligence capable of making all things out of water.

R39 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[. . .] And all things are borne along and flow, carried along by the nature of the first principle (*arkhêgos*) of their becoming. This, having neither beginning nor ending, is god.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Gnostic and Christian Interpretations (R40–R43)

R40 (< Th 145 Wöhrle) Iren. *Adv. haer.* 2.14.2

Thales quidem Milesius universorum generationem et initium aquam dixit esse: idem autem est dicere aquam et Bythum.

R41 (Th 213 Wöhrle) (Ps.-?) Hippol. *Ref.* 5.9.13

εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ὄντων ὅλως, ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν, ἐμψύχων¹ ἢ ἀψύχων, συν-εστηκέναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ.

¹ τῶν ante ἐμψύχων del. Cruice

R42 (< Th 229 Wöhrle) Min. Fel. *Octav.* 19.4

sit Thales Milesius omnium primus, qui primus omnium de caelestibus disputavit. idem Milesius Thales rerum initium aquam dixit, deum autem eam mentem, quae ex aqua cuncta formaverit. esto¹ altior et sublimior aquae et spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit inveniri, a Deo traditum; vides philosophi principalis nobiscum penitus opinionem consonare.

¹ eo *ms.*, *corr.* Vahlen

R43 (< 7 A5) Appon. 5.22–23 (ad Cn. 3:5)

in priore enim ‘filiarum adiuratione,’ in ‘caprearum et

THALES

Gnostic and Christian Interpretations (R40–R43)

R40 (≠ DK) Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*

Thales of Miletus said that water is the source and beginning of all things; but it is the same thing to say “water” and “Abyss” (*Buthos*).¹

¹ According to some Gnostics, Bythos is the abyss out of which all things come.

R41 (≠ DK) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

These people [i.e. some Gnostics] say that the serpent is the moist substance, just like the Milesian [i.e. Thales], and that nothing at all of the things that are, immortal or mortal ones, animate or inanimate ones, is capable of being formed without it.

R42 (≠ DK) Minucius Felix, *Octavius*

Let Thales of Miletus be first of all, he who was the first of all to discuss celestial phenomena. This same Thales of Miletus said that water is the beginning of things, but that god is the mind (*mens*) that formed all things out of water. This theory of water and spirit (*spiritus*), too lofty and sublime to have been invented by a human being, may well have been transmitted by God. You see that the opinion of the founder of philosophy entirely agrees with ours.

R43 (< 7 A5) Apponius, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*

For we said about the earlier ‘adjuration of the daughters’

cervorum' personas thalesianae et ferecidensis philosophiae intellegi diximus [= **PHER. R29**]. [. . .] [23] de quibus Thales nomine initium omnium rerum aquam in suo esse dogmate pronuntiavit, et inde omnia facta subsistere ab invisio et magno; causam vero motus aquae spiritum insidentem confirmat, simulque geometricam artem perspicaci sensu prior invenit, per quam suspicatus est unum rerum omnium creatorem [. . . = **PHER. R16**].

A Pseudepigraphic Text (R44)

R44 (B3) Ps.-Gal. *In Hipp. Hum.* 1.1

Θαλῆς μὲν εἶπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος φησι συνεστάναι πάντα, ἀλλ' ὁμως καὶ τοῦτο βούλεται. ἄμεινον δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥῆσιν προσθεῖναι ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἔχουσιν ὧδέ πως· τὰ μὲν οὖν πολυθρύλητα τέτταρα, ὧν τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι ὕδωρ φαμὲν καὶ ὡσανεὶ μόνον στοιχεῖον τίθεμεν, πρὸς σύγκρισίν τε καὶ πηγνυσιν καὶ σύστασιν τῶν ἐγκοσμίων πρὸς ἄλληλα συγκεράννυται. πῶς δέ, ἥδη λέλεκται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ.

that 'the roes and stags' are to be understood as the representatives of the philosophy of Thales and Pherecydes.¹ [. . .] [23] Among these philosophers [i.e. the pure ones who can be compared to roes and stags], the one named Thales declared in his doctrine that water is the origin of all things, and that everything that has been made from this subsists because of a great invisible being, and he states that the cause of the movement of the water is the spirit that dwells within it. At the same time, it was he who by his intelligence was the first to discover the science of geometry, and this permitted him to surmise that there is only one creator of all things [cf. **PHER. R16, R29**].

¹ The reference seems to be to his commentary (4.1) on *Cn.* 2:7 (where in fact he does not name Thales or Pherecydes, but the Platonists and the Stoics).

A Pseudepigraphic Text (R44)

R44 (B3) Ps.-Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On Humors*

Although Thales says that all things are constituted out of water, nonetheless he also wants this [i.e. that the elements are transformed into one another]. It is better to cite his own words from Book 2 of *On the Principles*, which are as follows: "Therefore the celebrated four, of which we say that the first is water and posit it as being as it were the only element, mix with one another for the combination, solidification, and composition of the things of this world. How this happens we have already said in Book 1."

6. ANAXIMANDER [ANAXIMAND.]

The ancient sources situate the maturity of Anaximander of Miletus a little before the middle of the sixth century BC. Like Thales, of whom he is said to have been the disciple, he is credited by the biographical tradition with political activity, connected to the colonial expansion of Miletus. Again like Thales, various inventions are attributed to him, notably the *gnômon*, the construction of a “sphere” (i.e. a tridimensional model of the universe), and a geographical map. His doctrine, unlike Thales’, has outlines we can grasp. Only a single sentence of his has been transmitted in its original wording. But the fairly numerous testimonia indicate that Anaximander recounted the generation of the world and of its constitutive parts all the way to living beings, explained its present function, and envisaged its disappearance. Thus he stands at the origin of a new kind of investigation bearing upon the totality of the world. One tradition calls Anaximander the first Greek to have written a treatise on nature. Theophrastus called the style of the phrase he transmits “poetic”; nevertheless, this must have been a text in prose. The ‘unlimited,’ from which everything that exists derives and to which everything returns, and ‘separation’ are the two concepts that

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

have secured for Anaximander a place of honor in the history of philosophy.

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OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTER

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ANAXIMANDER

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R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6)

As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)

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ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P3)

P1 (< A11) (Ps.?) Hippol. Ref. 1.6.7

οὗτος ἐγένετο κατὰ ἔτος τρίτον τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς
δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος.

P2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

[. . .] ὃς καί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς [FGrHist
244 F29] τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδόης
Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐτῶν εἶναι ἐξήκοντα τεττάρων καὶ μετ'
ὀλίγον τελευτῆσαι ἀκμάσαντά πη μάλιστα κατὰ Πο-
λυκράτη τὸν Σάμου τύραννον.¹

¹ ἀκμάσαντά πη [. . .] τύραννον secl. Diels ut ab Anaximandro
aliena

P3 (< A5) Plin. Nat. hist. 2.31

[. . .] Anaximander Milesius [. . .] Olympiade quinquagesima
octava [. . . cf. R16].

ANAXIMANDER

P

Chronology (P1–P3)

P1 (< A11) (Ps.-²) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*
He was born in the third year of the 42nd Olympiad [= 610/9 BC].

P2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] He [i.e. Apollodorus of Athens] also says in his *Chronology* that he was sixty-four years old in the second year of the 58th Olympiad [= 547/6 BC] and that he died a little later, having reached his maturity approximately at the time of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.¹

¹ This last indication causes some difficulty: since Polycrates reigned from 538 to 522 BC, Anaximander cannot have reached his full maturity (forty years) at this time if he was sixty-four years old in 547/6.

P3 (< A5) Pliny, *Natural History*

[. . .] Anaximander of Miletus [. . .], at the time of the 58th Olympiad [= 548/44] [. . .].

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Origin and Intellectual Line of Descent (P4–P7)

P4 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος [. . . = **D11**].

P5 (< A9) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.13–14 (< Theoph. Frag. 226A FHS&G)

[. . . cf. **D6**] Ἀναξίμανδρος μὲν Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος
Θαλοῦ γενόμενος διάδοχος καὶ μαθητῆς [. . .].

P6 (< A6) Strab. 1.1.11

[. . . cf. **D4**] Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γνώρι-
μον καὶ πολίτην [. . .].

P7 (Ar 23 Wöhrle) IG XIV 1464 Frag. V.1–3

Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος· vacat | ἐγέ[ν]ετο
μὲν Θ[αλ]έω . . .

Political Activity (P8)

P8 (A3) Ael. *Var. hist.* 3.17

καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἡγήσατο τῆς ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐκ
Μιλήτου ἀποικίας.

ANAXIMANDER

Origin and Intellectual Line of Descent (P4–P7)

P4 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades [. . .].

P5 (< A9) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

[. . .] Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades, who was the successor and disciple of Thales [. . .].

P6 (< A6) Strabo, *Geography*

[. . .] Anaximander, who had been Thales' friend and fellow citizen [. . .].

P7 (≠ DK) Inscription in the gymnasium of Taormina

Anaximander son of Praxiades, of Miletus. He was [scil. probably: the disciple] of Thales . . . ¹

¹ The inscription, dated by the editor to the second century BC, may have been part of a list of writings available in this gymnasium.

Political Activity (P8)

P8 (A3) Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*

Anaximander headed the foundation at Apollonia¹ of a colony from Miletus.

¹ On the Black Sea.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Prediction (P9)

P9 (A5a) Cic. *Div.* 1.50.112

ab Anaximandro physico moniti Lacedaemonii sunt ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent, quod terrae motus instaret, tum cum et urbs tota corruit et monte Taygeto extrema montis quasi puppis avolsa est.

Character (P10)

P10 (A8) Diog. Laert. 8.70

Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος περὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου¹ γράφων [FGrHist 1102 F1] φησὶν ὅτι τοῦτον ἐζηλώκει, τραγικὸν ἀσκῶν τύφον καὶ σεμνὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἐσθῆτα.

¹ Ἀναξαγόρου Gigante ex 8.56

Apothegm (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

τούτον φασὶν ἄδοντος καταγελάσαι τὰ παιδάρια, τὸν δὲ μαθόντα φάναι “βέλτιον οὖν ἡμῖν ἀστέον διὰ τὰ παιδάρια.”

ANAXIMANDER

Prediction (P9)

P9 (A5a) Cicero, *On Divination*

The Lacedaemonians were warned by the natural philosopher Anaximander to leave their city and houses and to sleep fully armed in the fields because an earthquake was imminent, at the time when the whole city was destroyed and the peak was torn away from Mount Taygetus like the stern of a ship.

Character (P10)

P10 (A8) Diogenes Laertius

Diodorus of Ephesus, writing about Anaximander, says that he [i.e. Empedocles, cf. **EMP. P15**] imitated him in cultivating a theatrical pomp and wearing pretentious clothes.

Apothegm (P11)

P11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

They say that while he was singing, children made fun of him; and when he found out, he said, "So I must sing better for the sake of the children."

Iconography (P12)

P12 (cf. vol. 1, p. 90 App., and Nachtrag p. 487.3–4)

Richter I, pp. 78–79 and Figures 299–301; Richter-Smith, p. 86 and Figure 50; Koch, "Ikonographie," in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 219, 220.

ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

D

Anaximander's Book (D1–D3)

D1 (A7) Them. *Orat.* 26 317c

[. . .] ἐθάρρησε πρῶτος ὦν ἴσμεν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἐξ-
εγεκεῖν περὶ φύσεως ξυγγεγραμμένον.

D2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

τῶν δὲ ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πεποιήται κεφαλαιώδη τὴν
ἐκθεσιν, ἥ¹ πον περιέτυχεν καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ἀθη-
ναῖος [FGr Hist. 244 F29].

¹ ἥ Cobet: ὥς mss.

D3 (< A2) *Suda* A.1986

ἔγραψε Περὶ φύσεως, Γῆς περίοδον καὶ Περὶ τῶν
ἀπλανῶν καὶ Σφαῖραν καὶ ἄλλα τινά.

ANAXIMANDER

D

Anaximander's Book (D1–D3)

D1 (A7) Themistius, *Orations*

[. . .] he was the first Greek we know of to have ventured to publish a written discourse about nature.

D2 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He made a summary exposition of his opinions, which Apollodorus of Athens seems to have come across.

D3 (< A2) *Suda*

He wrote *On Nature*, *Map of the Earth*, *On the Fixed Stars*, *The Sphere*, and some other works.¹

¹ The first three titles at least might refer to different parts of Anaximander's book, but cf. **D5**.

Terrestrial Map and Celestial Globe (D4–D5)

D4 (< A6) Strab. 1.1.11

ὧν τοὺς πρῶτους μεθ' Ὅμηρον δύο φησὶν Ἑρατο-
σθένης [Frag. IB5 Berger], Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε [. . . = **P6**]
καὶ Ἑκαταῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον· τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐκδοῦναι
πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα [. . .].

D5 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.2

καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης περίμετρον πρῶτος ἔγραψεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαῖραν κατεσκεύασε.

*Three Summaries Ultimately Deriving from
Theophrastus (D6–D8)*

D6 (< A9, B1) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.13–25 (< Theoph.
Frag. 226A FHS&G)

τῶν δὲ ἐν καὶ κινούμενον καὶ ἄπειρον λεγόντων Ἀναξ-
ίμανδρος [. . . = **P5**] ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχείον εἶρηκε τῶν
ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον, πρῶτος τοῦτο¹ τοῦνομα κομίσας
τῆς ἀρχῆς. λέγει δ' αὐτὴν μήτε ὕδωρ μήτε ἄλλο τι
τῶν καλουμένων εἶναι στοιχείων, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ
φύσιν ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρα-
νοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους· ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις

¹ αὐτὸ coni. Usener

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Terrestrial Map and Celestial Globe (D4–D5)

D4 (< A6) Strabo, *Geography*

Eratosthenes says that the first two [scil. geographers] after Homer were Anaximander [. . .] and Hecataeus of Miletus; and that the former was the first to publish a map of the earth [. . .].

D5 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

And he was the first to draw the outline of the earth and sea, and he also constructed a [scil. celestial] sphere.

Three Summaries Ultimately Deriving from Theophrastus (D6–D8)

D6 (< A9, B1) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Among those who say that it [i.e. the principle] is one, in movement, and unlimited, Anaximander [. . .] said that the principle (*arkhê*) and element of beings is the **unlimited** (to *apeiron*); he was the first to call the principle by this term.¹ He says that it is neither water nor any other of what are called elements, but a certain other unlimited nature from which come about all the heavens and the worlds in them. And the things out of which birth comes about for

¹ It is also possible that what Simplicius means is that the term Anaximander was the first to use was not 'unlimited' (*apeiron*) but rather 'principle' (*arkhê*).

ἐστί τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι
κατὰ τὸ χρεών. διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν
ἀλλήλοισι² τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν,
ποιητικωτέροις οὕτως³ ὀνόμασιν αὐτὰ λέγων.

² ἀλλήλοισι om. A

³ οὕτως om. F

D7 (< A11, B2) (Ps.-?) Hippol. Ref. 1.6.1–7

[1] [. . .] οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τινὰ τοῦ
ἀπείρου, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐν
αὐτοῖς κόσμον.¹ ταύτην δὲ αἰδίου εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν
καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους. λέγει δὲ χρόνον,
ὡς ὠρισμένης τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας² καὶ τῆς
φθορᾶς. [2] οὗτος μὲν οὖν³ ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον εἴρη-
κεν τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον, πρῶτος τοῦνομα⁴ καλέσας
τῆς ἀρχῆς. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κίνησιν αἰδίου εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ
συμβαίνειν⁵ γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς. [3] τὴν δὲ γῆν
εἶναι μετέωρον, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κρατουμένην, μένουσαν
<δὲ>⁶ διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν πάντων ἀπόστασιν. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα
αὐτῆς ὕγρον†,⁷ στρογγύλον, κίονι⁸ λίθῳ παραπλή-
σιον· τῶν δὲ ἐπιπέδων ᾧ⁹ μὲν ἐπιβεβήκαμεν, ὃ δὲ
ἀντίθετον ὑπάρχει. [4] τὰ δὲ ἄστρα γίνεσθαι κύκλον
πυρός, ἀποκριθέντα τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πυρός,

¹ τοὺς . . . κόσμους Ritter ² καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῖς οὖσι
Marcovich ³ οὖν T: om. LOB ⁴ πρῶτος <τοῦτο> τοῦ-
νομα Kirk ⁵ συμβαίνει mss., corr. Roeper ⁶ <δὲ>
Diels ⁷ ὕγρον mss.: γυρόν Roeper ⁸ χίονι mss., corr.
Gronovius: κίονος Teichmüller ⁹ ὃ mss., corr. Gronovius

beings, into these too their destruction happens, **according to obligation: for they pay the penalty** (*dikê*) **and retribution** (*tisis*) **to each other for their injustice** (*adikia*) according to the order of time²—this is how he says these things, with rather poetic words.

² Precisely where Simplicius' verbatim citation of Anaximander's sentence ends and his paraphrase or interpretation of it begins is uncertain and controversial.

D7 (< A11, B2) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[1] [. . .] He said that the principle of beings is a certain nature, that of the **unlimited**, from which the heavens come about and the world that is in them. It is eternal and **unaging** and it surrounds all the worlds. He speaks of time, on the idea that generation, subsistence, and destruction are limited. [2] He said that the principle and element of beings is the **unlimited**; he was the first to use this term for the principle.¹ Besides this, there is an eternal motion, in which the birth of the heavens comes about. [3] The earth is suspended; it is not controlled by anything, but remains where it is because it is at the same distance from all things. Its form is †moist†,² round, similar to a **stone column**; of its surfaces, one is that upon which we walk, the other is opposite to it. [4] The stars are a **wheel** of fire; they have been separated from the fire in the world and are surrounded by air. There are certain

¹ See note 1 in **D6**, above.
“curved.”

² Most editors correct to

περιληφθέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος. ἐκπνοὰς δ' ὑπάρξαι, πόρους¹⁰ τινὰς αὐλώδεις,¹¹ καθ' οὓς φαίνεσθαι¹² τὰ ἄστρο· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφρασσομένων τῶν ἐκπνοῶν τὰς ἐκλείψεις γίνεσθαι. [5] τὴν δὲ σελήνην ποτὲ μὲν πληρουμένην φαίνεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ μειουμένην κατὰ τὴν τῶν πόρων ἐπίφραξιν ἢ ἄνοιξιν. εἶναι δὲ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπτακαίικοσαπλασίονα¹³ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ ἀνωτάτω μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον,¹⁴ κατωτάτω δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων κύκλους. [6] τὰ δὲ ζῶα γίνεσθαι ἐξατμιζόμενα¹⁵ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐτέρῳ ζῳῷ γεγονέναι—τούτεστιν ἰχθύι—παραπλήσιον κατ' ἀρχάς. [7] ἀνέμους δὲ γίνεσθαι τῶν λεπτοτάτων ἀτμῶν τοῦ ἀέρος¹⁶ ἀποκρινομένων καὶ ὅταν ἀθροισθῶσι κινουμένων· ἕτεοὺς¹⁷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀτμίδος¹⁸ τῆς ἐκ γῆς ὑφ' ἡλίου ἀναδιδομένης.¹⁹ ἀστραπὰς δέ, ὅταν ἄνεμος ἐμπίπτων διυστᾷ τὰς νεφέλας.

¹⁰ πόρους Diels (ex Cedrenus 276.15–277.14 Bekker): τόπους mss. ¹¹ αὐλώδεις Diels: αἰρώδεις mss. ¹² φαίνεται mss., corr. Usener ¹³ <τῆς γῆς, ἐννεακαίδεκαπλασίονα (ὀκτωκαίδεκαπλασίονα post Tannery maluerunt Franket Becker) δὲ τὸν> τῆς σελήνης Diels ¹⁴ τὸν ἥλιον <μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν σελήνην> prop. Diels ¹⁵ ἐξατμιζόμενα mss.: <ἐξ ὑγροῦ>, ἐξατμιζομένου Diels ¹⁶ <ἐκ> τοῦ ἀέρος Marcovich ¹⁷ ἕτεοὺς Cedrenus: ἕτερον mss. ¹⁸ ἐκ τῆς ἀτμίδος Cedrenus: om. mss. ¹⁹ τῆς ἐκ γῆς ὑφ' ἡλίου ἀναδιδομένης Diels: τῆς ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ἥλιον (ἡλίου Par.) ἀναδιδομένης Cedrenus: ἐκ γῆς (τῆς T) ἀναδιδομένης ἐκ τῶν ὑφ' ἥλιον mss.

passages serving as orifices as in an *aulos*, through which the stars appear; this is why eclipses happen, when these orifices are obstructed. [5] The moon appears sometimes to increase, sometimes to decrease, because of the obstruction or opening of these passages. The **wheel** of the sun is twenty-seven times that of the moon; and the sun occupies the highest position, the circles of the fixed stars the lowest one.³ [6] The animals are born by evaporation from the effect of the sun. Human beings were at first similar to a different animal, i.e. to a fish. [7] Winds come about when the finest vapors of the air are detached and when, set into movement, they are agglomerated; and rains from the vapor coming from the earth by the effect of the sun is released; and lightning when the wind falls upon clouds and bursts them.

³ Diels suggests that this sentence is lacunose and supplemented, "The wheel of the sun is twenty-seven times that of <the earth, nineteen times that of> the moon; and the sun occupies the highest position, <and after it the moon,> and the circles of the fixed stars <and of the planets> the lowest one" (cf. D22, D24).

D8 (< A10) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 2 (= Eus. *PE* 1.8.2)

μεθ' ὃν Ἀναξίμανδρον [. . .] τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν
 πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ
 φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ φησι τοὺς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρί-
 σθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κό-
 σμους. ἀπεφάνητο δὲ τὴν φθορὰν γίνεσθαι, καὶ πολὺ
 πρότερον τὴν γένεσιν, ἐξ ἀπείρου αἰῶνος ἀνακυκλου-
 μένων πάντων αὐτῶν. ὑπάρχειν δέ φησι τῷ μὲν σχή-
 ματι τὴν γῆν κυλινδροειδῆ, ἔχειν δὲ τοσοῦτον βάθος
 ὅσον ἂν εἴη τρίτον πρὸς τὸ πλάτος. φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ
 αἰδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένε-
 σιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τινα ἐκ τούτου
 φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυῆναι τῷ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι ὡς
 τῷ δένδρῳ φλοιόν· ἥστινος ἀπορραγείσης καὶ εἰς τι-
 νας ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἥλιον
 καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. ἔτι φησὶν ὅτι κατ'
 ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη, ἐκ
 τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἐαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ
 τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυχρονίου δεῖσθαι τιτηνήσεως· διὸ
 καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἂν ποτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα διασωθῇ-
 ναι.

*The Unlimited (D9–D12)***D9** (< A15, B3) Arist. *Phys.* 3.4 203b7–15

ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὡς ἀρχή τις οὔσα·
 τό τε γὰρ γενόμενον ἀνάγκη τέλος λαβεῖν, καὶ τε-

D8 (A10) Pseudo-Plutarch, *Stromata*

After him [i.e. Thales], Anaximander [. . .] said that the **unlimited** is responsible for the birth and destruction of the whole, and from this he says that the heavens are separated out and in general all the worlds, which are unlimited. He declared that destruction, and much earlier birth, come about after an unlimited eternity, as all of these revolve. He says that the earth is cylindrical in form, and that its depth is one third of its breadth. He says that the seed¹ of the warm and the cold, coming from the eternal, was detached at the birth of this world and that a certain sphere of fire coming from this grew around the air surrounding the earth like the **bark** around a tree. When this was torn away and enclosed within certain circles, the sun, the moon, and the stars were formed. He also says that at the beginning human beings were born from animals of different species, because of the fact that the other animals nourish themselves quickly by themselves, while only human beings are in need of a long period of nursing; that is why, being of this sort, they could not have survived at the beginning.

¹ The term may go back to Anaximander.

*The Unlimited (D9–D12)***D9** (< A15, B3) Aristotle, *Physics*

Moreover, it [i.e. the unlimited] is ungenerated and indestructible, inasmuch as it is a principle. For what is gener-

λευτή πάσης ἔστιν φθορᾶς. διό, καθάπερ λέγομεν, οὐ ταύτης ἀρχή, ἀλλ' αὕτη τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὥς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας, [. . .] καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, ὥσπερ φησὶν Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων.

D10 (< A14) Aët. 1.3.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] φησι τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνονται.¹ λέγει γοῦν διότι ἄπειρόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλείπη ἢ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη [. . . = **R13**].

¹ γίνονται m: γίνεται MP: γίνεσθαι Diels

D11 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1–2

[. . . = **P4**] οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχείον τὸ ἄπειρον, οὐ διορίζων ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ ἄλλο τι. καὶ τὰ μὲν μέρη μεταβάλλειν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἀμετάβλητον εἶναι.

D12 (A16, > A9) Arist. *Phys.* 1.4. 187a12–16, 20–21

ὥς δ' οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι, δύο τρόποι εἰσὶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ποιήσαντες τὸ ὄν¹ σῶμα τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἢ τῶν

¹ ὄν secl. Ross

ated must necessarily have an end, and there is an ending to every destruction. That is why, as we say, there does not seem to be a principle of this, but it itself is [scil. a principle] for everything else and **surrounds** all things and **steers** all, as is said by all those who do not consider other causes besides the unlimited [. . .] And the divine is this: for it is **deathless** and **imperishable**, as Anaximander says and most of the natural philosophers.

D10 (< A14) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .] says that the principle of beings is the **unlimited**. For it is from this that all things come about, and into this that all things are destroyed. And that is why worlds unlimited [scil. in number] are generated and are destroyed in turn into what they come from. In any case he says why it is unlimited, so that the existing becoming be lacking in nothing [. . .].

D11 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

[. . .] He said that the principle and element is the **unlimited**, without defining whether it is air, water, or something else. And the parts change, while the whole is changeless.

D12 (A16, > A9) Aristotle, *Physics*

There are two ways in which the natural philosophers speak. For the ones, who posit the existing body, the sub-

τριῶν τι ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἐστὶ πυρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον ἀέρος
δὲ λεπτότερον, τὰλλα γεννώσι πυκνότητι καὶ μανότητι
πολλὰ ποιούντες [. . .] οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς
ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι,² ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός
φησι [. . .].

² ἐκκρίνουσιν P et fecit J

The Unlimited Number of Worlds (D13–D14)

D13 (< A17) Aët. 2.1.3 (Stob.; cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ κόσμον]
Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ
κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.¹

¹ περίστασιν Plut.: περιαγωγὴν Stob.

D14 (A17) Aët. 2.1.8 (Stob.) [περὶ κόσμον]

τῶν ἀπείρους ἀποφηναμένων τοὺς κόσμους Ἀναξί-
μανδρος τὸ ἴσον αὐτοὺς ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων [. . .].

The Destructibility of the Worlds (D15–D16)

D15 (< A17) Aët. 2.4.6 (Stob.) [εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος]
Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] φθαρτὸν τὸν κόσμον.

strate, as [scil. only] one, whether it is one of the three [scil. elements] or something else, denser than fire but finer than air, make it multiple by generating all other things by condensation and rarefaction. [. . .] The others say that the opposites are present in the one and are separated out from it, as Anaximander says [. . .]. [cf. **R1–R4**]

The Unlimited Number of Worlds (D13–D14)

D13 (< A17) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area (*peristasis*).¹

¹ This statement is probably due to an erroneous extrapolation from the fact that the principle of Anaximander is the ‘unlimited.’ For similar cases, see Stobaeus 1.22.3b (2) (**DOX. T17**) and **ANAXIMEN. D11**.

D14 (A17) Aëtius

Among those who assert that the worlds are unlimited, Anaximander: they are at an equal distance from one another [. . .].

The Destructibility of the Worlds (D15–D16)

D15 (< A17) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: the world is destructible.

D16 (A17) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 1121.5–9

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπείρους τῷ πλήθει τοὺς κόσμους ὑποθέ-
μενοι, ὥς οἱ περὶ Ἀναξίμανδρον [. . .], γινομένους αὐ-
τοὺς καὶ φθειρομένους ὑπέθεντο ἐπ' ἄπειρον, ἄλλων
μὲν αἰεὶ γινομένων ἄλλων δὲ φθειρομένων καὶ τὴν
κίνησιν αἰδίου ἔλεγον· ἄνευ γὰρ κινήσεως οὐκ ἔστι
γένεσις ἢ φθορά.

The Heavens and Worlds (D17–D19)

D17 (A17) Aët. 1.7.12 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Stob.) [τίς ἐστιν ὁ
θεός]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς¹ θεούς.

¹ ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς Stob.: ἀστέρας οὐρανίους Plut.

D18 (< A17) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.25–26

Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis
intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabilis
esse mundos.

D19 (A17a) Aët. 2.11.5 (Stob.) [περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ οὐ-
σίας]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ μίγματος.

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D16 (A17) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Those who posit that the worlds are unlimited in number, like Anaximander [. . .], posited that they come about and are destroyed in an unlimited way, some always coming to be while others are perishing, and they said that the motion is eternal. For without movement there is not coming to be nor destruction.

The Heavens and Worlds (D17–D19)

D17 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximander declared that the unlimited heavens are gods.

D18 (< A17) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

The opinion of Anaximander is that the gods are born, that they appear and disappear at long intervals, and that they are innumerable worlds.

D19 (A17a) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the heaven are constituted] out of a mixture of warm and cold.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Heavenly Bodies (D20–D22)

D20 (A18) Aët. 2.13.7 (Stob.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἀστρῶν]

Ἀναξίμανδρος πилήματα αἲρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρὸς ἔμ-
πλεα, κατὰ τι μέρος ἀπὸ στομίῳν ἐκπνέοντα φλόγας.

D21 (< A20) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 18.213

occasum matutinum Vergiliarum [. . .] tradidit fieri [. . .]
Anaximander XXXI.¹

¹ XXXI Schol. *Germ.*: XIXX F¹E: XXIX d v.: XXX F² D.

D22 (< A18) Aët. 2.15.6 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ τάξεως ἀστέ-
ρων]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀνωτάτω μὲν πάντων τὸν ἥλιον
τετάχθαι, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ὑπὸ δ' αὐτοὺς
τὰ ἀπλανῆ τῶν ἀστρῶν καὶ τοὺς πλανήτας.

Sun and Moon: Their Nature and Eclipses (D23–D28)

D23 (A21, B4) Aët. 2.20.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ οὐσίας
ἡλίου]

Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ὀκτωκαιικοσαπλασίονα
τῆς γῆς, ἀρματεῖω τροχῷ¹ παραπλήσιον,² τὴν ἀψίδα
ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κατὰ³ τι μέρος ἐκφαί-
νουσαν⁴ διὰ στομίῳν τὸ πῦρ ὥσπερ διὰ πρηστήρος
αὐλοῦ. καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον.

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The Heavenly Bodies (D20–D22)

D20 (A18) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the heavenly bodies are] wheel-shaped compressions of air, full of fire, exhaling flames in a certain part via orifices.

D21 (< A20) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximander [. . .] reports that the morning setting of the Pleiades takes place [. . .] thirty-one days [scil. after the autumnal equinox].

D22 (< A18) Aëtius

Anaximander [. . .]: the sun is placed highest of all [scil. the heavenly bodies], after it comes the moon, and under them the fixed stars and the planets.

Sun and Moon: Their Nature and Eclipses (D23–D28)

D23 (A21, B4) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the sun] is a circle twenty-eight times the size of the earth, similar to the **wheel** of a chariot; it has a hollow rim filled with fire, and in a certain place it reveals the fire through an orifice as though through **the nozzle (aulos) of a bellows (prêstêr)**. And this is the sun.

¹ ἀρματίου τροχῷ Mm: ἀρματείου τροχοῦ Π ² παρα-
πλήσιον post τὴν ἀψίδα mss., transp. Diels ³ ἥς ante
κατά hab. mss., del. Diels ⁴ ἐκφαινούσης Plut., corr. Diels

D24 (A21) Aët. 2.21.1 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Eus., Stob.) [περὶ μεγέθους ἡλίου]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸν μὲν ἡλίον ἴσον εἶναι τῇ γῇ, τὸν δὲ κύκλον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐκπνοὴν ἔχει καὶ ὑφ'¹ οὗ περιφέρεται,² ἔπτακαιικοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς.

¹ ὑφ' Stob. Eus. (PE 15.24.1): ἐφ' Plut. ² περιφέρεται Stob.: φέρεται Plut. Eus.

D25 (A21) Aët. 2.24.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τοῦ στομίου τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς διεκπνοῆς ἀποκλειομένου.

D26 (A22) Aët. 2.25.1 (Stob., cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σελήνης οὐσίας]

Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι ἑννεακαιδεκαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ὅμοιον ἄρματίῳ τροχῷ¹ κοίλῃν ἔχοντι τὴν ἀψίδα καὶ πυρὸς πλήρη καθάπερ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου, κείμενον λοξόν, ὥς κακείνων, ἔχοντα μίαν ἐκπνοὴν οἶον πρηστῆρος αὐλόν. ἐκλείπειν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς² τοῦ τροχοῦ.

¹ τροχῷ Plut., om. Stob. ² ἐπιστροφὰς Plut: τροπὰς vel στροφὰς Stob.

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D24 (A21) Aëtius

Anaximander: the sun is equal to the earth, but the circle from which it produces its exhalation and by which it is carried in a circle is twenty-seven times the size of the earth.

D25 (A21) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. a solar eclipse happens] when the orifice of the exhalation of the fire becomes closed.

D26 (A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. the moon] is a circle nineteen times the size of the earth, similar to the **wheel** of a chariot; it has a hollow rim filled with fire, like that of the sun; it lies aslant, as does that one, and it has a single place of exhalation like **the nozzle** (*aulos*) **of a bellows** (*prêstêr*). Eclipses happen as a result of the turnings of the wheel.

D27 (> A22) Aët. 2.28.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἴδιον αὐτὴν ἔχειν φῶς, ἀραιότερον δέ πως.

D28 (A22) Aët. 2.29.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐκλείψεως σελήνης]

Ἀναξίμανδρος¹ τοῦ στομίου τοῦ περὶ τὸν τροχὸν ἐπιφραττομένου.

¹ Ἀναξίμανδρος m: Ἀναξιμένης ΜΠ

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D29–D32)

D29 (A25) Aët. 3.10.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος γῆς]

Ἀναξίμανδρος λίθῳ κίονι τὴν γῆν¹ προσφερῇ τῶν ἐπιπέδων < . . . >²

¹ τὴν γῆν Π: τῇ γῇ Mm ² lac. ind. Diels

D30 (A26) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 295b11–16

εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητά φασιν αὐτὴν μένειν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξίμανδρος· μᾶλλον μὲν γὰρ οὐθὲν ἄνω ἢ κάτω ἢ εἰς τὰ πλάγια φέρεσθαι προσήκει τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου ἰδρυμένον καὶ ὁμοίως πρὸς τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχον· ἅμα δ' ἀδύνατον εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον¹ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κίνησιν· ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης μένειν.

D27 (> A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: it [i.e. the moon] possesses its own light, but it is somewhat weaker.

D28 (A22) Aëtius

Anaximander: [scil. a lunar eclipse happens] when the orifice on the **wheel** is obstructed.

*The Shape and Position of the Earth (D29–D32)***D29** (A25) Aëtius

Anaximander: the earth resembles **a stone column**. Of its surfaces . . . ¹

¹ What follows, presumably a reference to the antipodes (cf. **D7** [3]), is lost.

D30 (A26) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

There are some who say that it is because of equality (*homoiotês*) that it [i.e. the earth] stays in place, as among the ancients Anaximander. For it is appropriate that what is located in the middle and maintains an equal relation to the extremities should not move at all more up than down or to the sides; and it is impossible to move in opposite directions at the same time. So of necessity it remains in place.

¹ τὸ ἐναντίον E: τὰναντία JHE⁴

D31 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

μέσῃν τε τὴν γῆν κείσθαι, κέντρον τάξιν ἐπέχουσιν,
οὕσαν σφαιροειδῇ.

D32 (A26) Theon Sm. *Exp.*, p. 198.18–19 (= Eudem. Frag. 145 Wehrli)

[. . .] Ἀναξίμανδρος δέ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ μετέωρος καὶ
κεῖται¹ περὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου μέσον.

¹ κινεῖται mss., corr. Montucla

Meteorological Phenomena (D33–D34)

D33 (A23)

a Aët. 3.3.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κε-
ραυνῶν πρηστήρων τε καὶ τυφώνων]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ταυτὶ πάντα συμβαί-
νειν· ὅταν γὰρ περιληφθὲν νέφει παχεῖ βιασάμενον
ἐκπέσῃ τῇ λεπτομερείᾳ καὶ κουφότητι, τόθ' ἡ μὲν ῥή-
ξις τὸν ψόφον, ἡ δὲ διαστολὴ παρὰ τὴν μελανίαν τοῦ
νέφους τὸν διαυγασμὸν ἀποτελεῖ.

b Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 2.18

Anaximandrus omnia¹ ad spiritum retulit. tonitrua, inquit,
sunt nubis ictae sonus. quare inaequalia sunt? quia et ipse

¹ omnia <ista> Hine

D31 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

The earth is in the middle, occupying the position of the center, and it is spherical.¹

¹ This last indication, which contradicts **D20** (cf. **D7[3]**), is doubtless influenced by Plato, *Phaedo* 108e–109a.

D32 (A26) Eudemus in Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato*

Anaximander [scil. discovered] that the earth is suspended and that it rests at the center of the world.

Meteorological Phenomena (D33–D34)

D33 (A23)

a Aëtius

Anaximander: all of these phenomena [scil. thunder, lightning, thunderbolts, whirlwinds, and typhoons] come about from wind. For when this has been caught in a thick cloud but then breaks out violently by reason of its fineness and lightness, the tearing causes the noise, and the crack, against the blackness of the cloud, causes the flash.

b Seneca, *Natural Questions*

Anaximander relates all these phenomena [scil. those connected with thunder] to wind. Thunder, he says, is the noise produced by a cloud when it is struck. Why are they unequal [scil. in intensity]? Because <the wind> itself [scil.

<spiritus>.² quare et sereno tonat? quia tunc quoque per crassum et scissum aëra spiritus prosilit. at quare aliquando non fulgurat, et tonat? quia spiritus infirmior non valuit in flammam, in sonum valuit. quid est ergo ipsa fulguratio? aëris diducentis se corruentisque iactatio, languidum ignem nec exiturum aperiens. quid est fulmen? acrioris densiorisque spiritus cursus.

² <spiritus> Hine: ictus inaequalis est δ (om. ζθπ): <spiritus inaequalis est> Diels

D34 (A24) Aët. 3.7.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀνέμων]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἄνεμον εἶναι ῥύσιν ἀέρος τῶν λεπτοτάτων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑγροτάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κινουμένων ἢ τηκομένων.

The Formation and History of the Sea (D35–D36)

D35 (A27)

a Arist. *Meteor.* 2.1 353b6–11

εἶναι γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὑγρὸν ἅπαντα τὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν τόπον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηραίνόμενον τὸ μὲν διατμίσαν πνεύματα καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης φασὶ ποιεῖν, τὸ δὲ λειφθὲν θάλατταν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ ἐλάττω γίνεσθαι ξηρανομένην οἴονται καὶ τέλος ἔσεσθαι ποτε πᾶσαν ξηράν.

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is unequal]. Why is there thunder even in a cloudless sky? Because at this moment too the wind rushes through the crack in thick air. And why is there sometimes no lightning but there is thunder? Because the air is too weak to produce a flame, but not too weak [scil. to produce] a sound. Then what is lightning? The agitation of air which, extending and retracting itself, reveals fire that is weak and cannot escape. What is the lightning bolt? The passage of air that is sharper and denser.

D34 (A24) Aëtius

Anaximander: wind is a current of air, when the most fine and moist parts in it are set in motion or melted by the sun.

The Formation and History of the Sea (D38–D39)

D35 (A27)

a Aristotle, *Meteorology*

For they [i.e. the thinkers whose wisdom is human, by contrast with the theologians] say that the terrestrial region was at first entirely moist, but that, while it was being dried out by the sun, the part that evaporated produced the winds and the returns of the sun [i.e. the solstices] and moon, and what remained formed the sea; and this is why they think that it diminishes while it dries out and that one day it will be completely dry.

b Alex. *In Meteor.*, p. 67.1–12

οὔτοι δὲ γένεσιν ποιοῦσι τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγένητον αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἰδίας πηγὰς ἔχουσιν, ὥς οἱ θεολόγοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπόλειμμα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς πρώτης ὑγρότητος. ὑγροῦ γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν τόπου κᾶπειτα τὸ μὲν τι¹ τῆς ὑγρότητος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐξατμίζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι πνεύματά τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τροπὰς ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης, ὥς διὰ τὰς ἀτμίδας ταύτας καὶ τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις κακείνων τὰς τροπὰς ποιουμένων, ἔνθα² ἡ ταύτης αὐτοῖς χορηγία γίνεται, περὶ ταῦτα τρεπομένων τὸ δέ τι αὐτῆς ὑπολειφθὲν ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τῆς γῆς³ τόποις θάλασσαν εἶναι. διὸ καὶ ἐλάττω γίνεσθαι ξηραينوμένην ἐκάστοτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τέλος ἔσσεσθαι ποτε ξηράν. ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἐγένετο, ὥς ἰστορεῖ Θεόφραστος [Fr. 221 FHS&G], Ἀναξίμανδρός τε καὶ Διογένης [. . . = **DIOG. D24**].

¹ κᾶπειτα τὸ μὲν τι] τὰ πρῶτα Awa
Usener

³ τῆς γῆς om. Awa

² ἔνθεν

D36 (A27) Aët. 3.16.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ θαλάσσης πῶς συνέστηκε καὶ πῶς ἐστι πικρά]

Ἀναξίμανδρος τὴν θάλασσαν φησιν εἶναι τῆς πρώτης ὑγρασίας λείψανον, ἥς τὸ μὲν πλεῖον¹ μέρος ἀνεξήρανε τὸ πῦρ, τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν διὰ τὴν ἑκκαυσιν μετέβαλεν.

b Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology*

These authors [scil. the ones Aristotle is discussing] attribute a birth to the sea, instead of saying, as the theologians do, that it is ungenerated and provided with its own sources [cf. **COSM. T10**].¹ For some of them say that the sea is a residue of the original moisture. For at first the region around the earth was moist, but then part of the moisture evaporated by the effect of the sun, and this is why the winds and the turnings of the sun [i.e. the solstices] and moon came about, for these [scil. heavenly bodies] too make their turnings as a result of these vapors and exhalations, returning to the place where they find an abundant supply of these. But the part of it [i.e. the original moisture] that remained in the hollows of the earth forms the sea; and that is why it is diminishing, since it is being constantly dried out by the sun, and will end up one day becoming dry. As Theophrastus reports, Anaximander and Diogenes [scil. of Apollonia] were of this opinion [. . .].

¹ Alexander, who is referring to the theologians (i.e. Homer and Hesiod), interprets Ocean as the sea.

D36 (A27) Aëtius

Anaximander says that the sea is a residue of the original moisture, of which the fire dried up the greater part, while what remained was transformed by the heat.

¹ *πλεῖον* MII: *πλεῖστον* m

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

The Nature of the Soul (D37)

D37 (< A29) Aët. 4.3.2 (Theod. Cur. 5.18) [εἰ σῶμα ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τίς ἡ οὐσία αὐτῆς]

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀερώδη τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν φύσιν εἰρήκασιν.

The Origin of Animals (D38–D40)

D38 (A30) Aët. 5.19.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ζώων γενέσεως, πῶς ἐγένοντο ζῶα καὶ εἰ φθαρτά]

Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα φλοιοῖς περιεχόμενα ἀκανθώδεσι, προβαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον καὶ περιρρηγνυμένου τοῦ φλοιοῦ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιώναι.

D39 (A30) Cens. *Die nat.* 4.7

Anaximander Milesius videri sibi ex aqua terraque calefactis¹ exortos esse sive pisces seu piscibus simillima animalia; in his homines concrevisse fetusque² ad pubertatem intus retentos, tunc demum ruptis illis³ viros mulieresque, qui iam se alere possent, processisse.

¹ coalefactis *coni. Meursius*

² et usque *coni. Meursius*

³ illis *coni. Meursius*

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The Nature of the Soul (D37)

D37 (< A29) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximander [. . .] said that the nature of the soul is air-like.

The Origin of Animals (D38–D40)

D38 (A30) Aëtius

Anaximander: the first animals were born in moisture, surrounded by thorny bark, but as they increased in age they moved to where it was drier, and when the bark burst open they changed their way of life in a short time.

D39 (A30) Censorinus, *The Birthday*

Anaximander of Miletus thought that when the water and earth were heated, there arose from them either fish or animals very similar to fish; human beings developed in these and remained inside as embryos until they reached puberty; then finally they [i.e. these animals] burst open, and men and women came forth who were already capable of nourishing themselves.

D40 (< A30) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.8.4 730E–F

[. . . cf. **R18**] οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος ἰχθύς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἀποφαίνεται καὶ τραφέντας ὥσπερ οἱ γαλεοὶ¹ καὶ γενομένους ἱκανοὺς ἑαυτοῖς βοηθεῖν ἐκβῆναι τηρικαῦτα καὶ γῆς λαβέσθαι [. . .].

¹ γαλεοὶ Doehner, Emperius: παλαιοὶ mss.

D40 (< A30) Plutarch, *Table Talk*

[. . .] For he does not think that fish and humans [scil. developed] in the same circumstances, but he declares that at first humans developed and were nourished inside fishes, like sharks, and that they went out and reached land when they had become capable of protecting themselves [. . .].

ANAXIMANDER [12 DK]

R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6) As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)

R1 (\neq DK) Arist. *Phys.* 3.4 203a16–18

οἱ δὲ περὶ φύσεως πάντες¹ ὑποτιθέασιν ἑτέραν τινὰ φύσιν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῶν λεγομένων στοιχείων, οἷον ὕδωρ ἢ ἀέρα ἢ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων.

¹ πάντες Philop. *In Phys.*, p. 395.8, Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 458.17: ἅπαντες ἀεὶ FHIJ: ἀεὶ πάντες E

R2 ($<$ A9) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.21–22

δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολὴν τῶν τεττάρων στοιχείων οὗτος θεασάμενος οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἓν τι τούτων ὑποκείμενον ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τι ἄλλο παρὰ ταῦτα [. . . = R9].

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R

The Unlimited of Anaximander (R1–R6) *As Intermediary Substance (R1–R5)*

R1 (\neq DK) Aristotle, *Physics*

All those who study nature assign to the unlimited a certain other nature belonging to what are called the elements, like water, air, or what is intermediary between these.¹

¹ For other passages in which Aristotle mentions a doctrine of the intermediary element and seems to be alluding to Anaximander (without ever naming him), cf. *Physics* 1.6 189b1–8, 205a25–29; *Generation and Corruption* 2.1 328b35, 2.5 332a19–25; *Metaphysics* A7 988a29–32, 989a14. The identification derives from the commentators on Aristotle (cf. e.g. **R2**, **R4**). In **D12**, Aristotle explicitly distinguishes Anaximander from those who posited an intermediary.

R2 (< A9) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

It is clear that, having observed the transformation of the four elements into one another, he thought that he should not make one of these the substrate, but some other thing besides them [. . .].

R3 (A16) Arist. *Cael.* 3.5 303b10–13

ἔνιοι γὰρ ἐν μόνον ὑποτίθενται, καὶ τοῦτο¹ οἱ μὲν ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' αἶρα, οἱ δὲ πῦρ, οἱ δ' ὕδατος μὲν λεπτότερον, αἶρος δὲ πυκνότερον, ὃ περιέχειν φασὶ πάντας τοὺς οὐρανούς ἄπειρον ὄν.

¹ τοῦτο EH: τούτων J

R4 (A16) Alex. *In Metaph.*, p. 60.8–10

προσέθηκε δὲ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ τὴν Ἀναξιμάνδρου δόξαν, ὃς ἀρχὴν ἔθετο τὴν μεταξὺ φύσιν αἶρος τε καὶ πυρός, ἣ αἶρος τε καὶ ὕδατος· λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως.

R5 (≠ DK) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 615.13–15

Ἀναξίμανδρος [. . .] ἀόριστόν τι ὕδατος μὲν λεπτότερον αἶρος δὲ πυκνότερον, διότι τὸ ὑποκείμενον εὐφυνὲς ἐχρῆν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μετάβασιν [. . . = **R6**].

As Reservoir (R6)

R6 (< A17) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 615.15–18

ἄπειρον δὲ πρῶτος¹ ὑπέθετο, ἵνα ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις ἀφθόνως· καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους οὕτως καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπείρου τοῦ τοιούτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο, ὥς δοκεῖ.

¹ πρῶτος A: πρώτως DEF

R3 (A16) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

For some people posit only one [scil. element], and the ones [scil. posit] that this is water, others air, others fire, others something finer than water and denser than air; and they say that this, being **unlimited**, **surrounds** all the heavens.

R4 (A16) Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*

He [i.e. Aristotle] has added to his historical presentation the opinion of Anaximander, who posited as principle a nature intermediary between air and fire, or between air and water—for it is reported in both ways.

R5 (\neq DK) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

Anaximander [. . .] [scil. posed as element] something undefined (*aoristos*), finer than water but denser than air, since the substrate had to be well suited for transformation into both of these [. . .].

*As Reservoir (R6)***R6** (< A17) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

He was the first to posit an **unlimited**, so that he would have something he could make use of unstintingly for generating; and he said that the worlds are unlimited [scil. in number] and that each one of the worlds comes from this sort of unlimited element, as it seems.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

A Comparison with Empedocles and Anaxagoras (R7–R9)

R7 (A9) Arist. *Phys.* 1.4 187a20–23

οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνε-
σθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ
πολλὰ φασιν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξ-
αγόρας· ἐκ τοῦ μείγματος γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκκρίνουσι
τᾶλλα.

R8 (A9a, 59 A41) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 154.14–23 (= Theo-
phr. Frag. 228B FHS&G)

καὶ Θεόφραστος δὲ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν εἰς τὸν Ἀναξ-
ίμανδρον συνωθῶν καὶ οὕτως ἐκλαμβάνει τὰ ὑπὸ
Ἀναξαγόρου λεγόμενα, ὡς δύνασθαι μίαν αὐτὸν φύ-
σιν λέγειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον. γράφει δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῇ
Φυσικῇ ἱστορίᾳ· “οὕτω μὲν οὖν λαμβανόντων δόξειεν
ἂν ποιεῖν τὰς μὲν ὑλικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπείρους, ὥσπερ
εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίαν
μίαν. εἰ δέ τις τὴν μῆξιν τῶν ἀπάντων ὑπολάβοι μίαν
εἶναι φύσιν ἀόριστον καὶ κατ' εἶδος καὶ κατὰ μέγε-
θος, ὅπερ ἂν δόξειε βούλεσθαι λέγειν, συμβαίνει δύο
τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ λέγειν τὴν τε τοῦ ἀπείρου φύσιν καὶ
τὸν νοῦν, ὥστε πάντως φαίνεται τὰ σωματικὰ στοι-
χεῖα παραπλησίως ποιῶν Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ.”

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A Comparison with Empedocles and Anaxagoras (R7–R9)

R7 (A9) Aristotle, *Physics*

The other ones [scil. than those who posit a single substrate] say that the contraries are present in the One and are separated out from it, as Anaximander says and all those who assert the existence of both the one and the many, like Empedocles and Anaxagoras; for these too think that all other things separate out from the mixture [cf. **EMP. D81**; **ANAXAG. D20**].

R8 (A9a, 59 A41) Theophrastus in Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

And Theophrastus, pushing Anaxagoras toward Anaximander, understands in this way too what Anaxagoras says, i.e. that it is possible that he is saying that the substrate is a single nature. He writes as follows in his *Natural History*: “If we take things in this way, he would seem to posit material principles that are unlimited [scil. in number], as we have said, and a single cause of motion and of generation. But if one supposed that the mixture of all things is a single nature, undefined both in form and in size, which is what he would seem to have meant, then the result is that he is saying that there are two principles, the nature of the unlimited and mind, so that he seems absolutely to conceive corporeal elements in the same way as Anaximander” [= **ANAXAG. R19**].

R9 (< A9) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.23–25

[. . . = **R2**] οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενον τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως· διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν.

Four Peripatetic Criticisms (R10–R13)

R10 (Ar 12 Wöhrlé) Arist. *GC* 2.5 332a19–25

[. . .] οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τούτων ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἄλλο τί γε παρὰ ταῦτα, οἷον μέσον τι ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος ἢ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός, ἀέρος μὲν παχύτερον ἢ πυρός, τῶν δὲ λεπτότερον· ἔσται γὰρ ἀήρ καὶ πῦρ ἐκείνο μετ' ἐναντιότητος· ἀλλὰ στέρησις τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ἐναντίων· ὥστ' οὐκ ἐνδέχεται μονοῦσθαι ἐκείνο οὐδέποτε, ὥσπερ φασί τινες τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ περιέχον.

R11 (A16) Arist. *Phys.* 3.5 204b22–29

ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν καὶ ἀπλοῦν εἶναι σῶμα ἄπειρον ἐνδέχεται, οὔτε ὡς λέγουσί τινες τὸ παρὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὔθ' ἀπλῶς. εἰσὶν γάρ τινες οἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦσι τὸ ἄπειρον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ, ὅπως μὴ τὰλλα φθείρηται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπείρου αὐτῶν· ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἐναντίωσιν, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἀήρ ψυχρός, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ θερμόν· ὦν εἰ ἦν

R9 (< A9) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* [. . .] He does not explain birth by the alteration of the element but by the separation of the contraries because of the eternal motion. And that is why Aristotle has placed him together with Anaxagoras and his followers [cf. **ANAXAG. D2**].

Four Peripatetic Criticisms (R10–R13)

R10 (≠ DK) Aristotle, *On Generation and Corruption* [. . .] not one of these things [i.e. fire, air, earth, water] is something from which all things could derive. But certainly neither is anything else besides these, such as something intermediary between air and water or between air and fire, denser than air or fire, and finer than the others. For that air or that fire will include a contrariety; but one of the contraries is a privation, so that it is not possible that that [scil. intermediary] ever exist alone, as some say is the case of the unlimited and of what surrounds.

R11 (A16) Aristotle, *Physics*

But neither is it possible for an unlimited body to be one and simple, whether it is, as some say, something beside the elements from which they generate these, or absolutely speaking. For there are some who identify the unlimited with this, and not with air or water, so that the other things are not destroyed by their being unlimited. For they stand in contrariety to one another, for example air is cold, water moist, fire hot; and if one of them were

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ἐν ἄπειρον, ἔφθαρτο ἂν ἤδη τᾶλλα· νῦν δ' ἕτερον εἶναί
φασιν ἐξ οὗ ταῦτα.

R12 (< A14) Arist. *Phys.* 3.7 208a 2–4

φαίνονται δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ὕλη χρώμενοι τῷ
ἀπείρῳ· διὸ καὶ ἄτοπον τὸ περιέχον ποιεῖν αὐτὸ ἄλλα
μὴ περιεχόμενον.

R13 (< A14) Aët. 1.3.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

[. . . = **D10**] ἀμαρτάνει δὲ οὗτος μὴ λέγων τί ἐστὶ τὸ
ἄπειρον, πότερον ἀήρ ἐστὶν ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆ ἢ ἄλλα τινὰ
σώματα. ἀμαρτάνει οὖν τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινόμενος,
τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν
ἄλλο ἢ ὕλη ἐστίν· οὐ δύναται δὲ ἡ ὕλη εἶναι ἐνεργεία,
εἰ μὴ τὸ ποιοῦν ὑποκέηται.

Astronomical Discoveries and Inventions
Attributed to Anaximander (R14–R17)

R14 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.1

εἶρε δὲ καὶ γνώμονα πρῶτος καὶ ἔστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν
σκιοθήρων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, καθά φησι Φαβωρίνος ἐν
Παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ [Frag. 65 Amato], τροπὰς τε καὶ
ισημερίας σημαίνοντα· καὶ ὥροσκόπια κατεσκεύασε.

unlimited, then the others would already have been destroyed. But as it is, they say that what these latter come from is different.

R12 (< A14) Aristotle, *Physics*

It is evident that all the others make use of the unlimited as matter. And for this reason it is absurd to say that it **surrounds** and not that it is surrounded.

R13 (< A14) Aëtius

[. . .] He errs in not saying what the unlimited is, whether it is air or water, or earth or some other bodies. Thus he errs in declaring the matter but in suppressing the efficient cause. For the unlimited is nothing else than matter. But matter cannot be in activity if one does not posit the efficient [scil. cause].

Astronomical Discoveries and Inventions
Attributed to Anaximander (R14–R17)

R14 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

He was also the first to discover the *gnomon* and he placed it on the sundials in Sparta, as Favorinus says in his *Miscellaneous History*, to indicate the solstices and the equinoxes, and he constructed clocks.

R15 (< A4) Eus. *PE* 10.14.11

οὗτος πρῶτος γνώμονας κατεσκεύασε πρὸς διάγνω-
σιν τροπῶν τε ἡλίου καὶ χρόνων καὶ ὥρων καὶ ἰση-
μερίας.

R16 (< A5) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 2.31

obliquitatem eius intellexisse, hoc est rerum fores¹ aper-
uisse, Anaximander Milesius traditur primus [. . . = **P3**].

¹ fortissimi *vel* -mas *ante* fores *hab.* FEaz., *del.* R

R17 (< A19) Simpl. *In Cael.*, p. 471.4–9

[. . .] Ἀναξιμάνδρου πρῶτον τὸν περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ
ἀποστημάτων λόγον εὐρηκότος, ὥς Εὐδήμος ἱστορεῖ
[Frag. 146 Wehrli] [. . . = **PYTHS. ANON. D39**]. τὰ δὲ
μεγέθη καὶ τὰ ἀποστήματα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης [. . .]
εἰκὸς ἦν ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀναξιμανδρον εὐρηκέναι [. . .].

An Ironic Allusion to a Notorious Doctrine (R18)

R18 (< A30) Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.8.4 730D–E

οἱ δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλήνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ πατρογενεῖω Πο-
σειδῶνι θύουσιν, ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐσίας
φῦναι δόξαντες¹ ὥς καὶ Σύροι· διὸ καὶ σέβονται τὸν
ἰχθυῦν, ὥς ὁμογενῇ καὶ σύντροφον, ἐπιεικέστερον

¹ δοξαζόντες Turnebus

R15 (< A4) Eusebius, *Evangelical Preparation*

He was the first to construct *gnomons* to distinguish the solstices of the sun, the periods of time, the seasons, and the equinox.

R16 (< A5) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximander of Miletus is reported to have been the first person [. . .] to have understood its [i.e. the zodiac's] inclination, that is to have opened up the gates of these matters [. . .].

R17 (< A19) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On the Heavens*

[. . .] Anaximander was the first to discover the explanation for the sizes and distances [scil. of the planets], as is reported by Eudemus [. . .]. As for the sizes and distances of the sun and moon [. . .], it is probable that Anaximander discovered them too [. . .].

An Ironic Allusion to a Notorious Doctrine (R18)

R18 (< A30) Plutarch, *Table Talk*

The descendants of ancient Hellen sacrifice to their ancestor Poseidon too, since they believe, as the Syrians do, that human beings were born from the moist substance. And

Ἀναξιμάνδρου φιλοσοφοῦντες· [. . . = D40] καθάπερ οὖν τὸ πῦρ τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ἧς ἀνήφθη, μητέρα καὶ πατέρα' οὕσαν ἥσθιεν [. . .] οὕτως ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κοινὸν ἀποφήνας τὸν ἰχθὺν διέβαλεν πρὸς τὴν βρῶσιν.

A Christian Polemic (R19)

R19 (Ar 52 Wöhrle) Iren. *Adv. haer.* 2.14.2

Anaximander autem hoc quod immensum est omnium initium subiecit, seminaliter habens in semetipso omnium genesim, ex quo immensos mundos constare ait: et hoc autem in Bythum et in Aeonas ipsorum transfiguraverunt.

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R20)

R20 (Ar 216 Wöhrle) Ps.-Olymp. *Ars sacra* 25

Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ ἔλεγεν ἀρχὴν εἶναι· μεταξὺ δὲ λέγω τῶν ἀτμῶν ἢ τῶν καπνῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀτμὸς μεταξὺ ἐστὶν πυρὸς καὶ γῆς, καὶ καθόλου δὲ εἰπεῖν, πᾶν το μεταξὺ θερμῶν καὶ ὑγρῶν ἀτμός ἐστιν· τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ θερμῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καπνός.

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that is why they revere the fish as belonging to the same line of descent as they do and as having been raised together with them—philosophizing thereby more plausibly than Anaximander [. . .]. So just as fire devours the wood from which it was kindled and which is its father and mother [. . .], so too Anaximander, having declared that fish is the common father and mother of all human beings, criticized its use for eating.¹

¹ The discussion bears upon the Pythagoreans' prohibitions (cf. **PYTH. c D20[83]**).

A Christian Polemic (R19)

R19 (≠ DK) Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*

Anaximander posited as the origin of all things the unlimited, which contains within itself in the form of seeds the generation of all things, and from which, he said, the infinite worlds come. And this is what they [i.e. the Valentinian Gnostics] transformed into their own Bythus and Eons.

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R20)

R20 (≠ DK) Ps.-Olympiodorus, *On the Sacred Art*

Anaximander said that the intermediary is the principle; I say that the intermediary belongs to vapor or smoke. For vapor is intermediary between fire and earth, and to speak generally everything that is intermediary between what is hot and what is moist is vapor; and what is intermediary between what is hot and what is dry is smoke.

*Anaximander in The Assembly of
Philosophers (R21)*

R21 (\neq DK) *Turba Phil. Sermo I*

a p. 109.15–16 Ruska; 38.1–6 Plessner

iussit autem, ut Eximedruss prius loqueretur, qui optimi erat consilii.

incipiens ait omnium initium esse naturam quandam et eam esse perpetuam ac omnia coquentem et quidem videtur naturas eorumque nativitates et corruptiones esse tempora, quibus termini, ad quos pervenire videntur et noscuntur. doceo autem vos stellas esse igneas et aera ipsas continere et quod si aeris humiditas et spissitudo non esset, quae solis flammam separaret a creaturis, omnia subsistentia sol combureret. Deus autem aerem separantem constituit ne combureret quod in terra creavit.

b (Ar 242 Wöhrle) Muḥammad ibn Umayl al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-mā' al-waraqī wa al-arḍ al-naḡmiyya* (cf. p. 39.15–40.24 Plessner)

قال أكسميدوس الجرعاني [. . .] فالماء والنار عدوان ليست بينهما قرابة واشجة لأن النار حارة يابسة والماء بارد رطب فأما الهواء فحار رطب فأصلح ما بينهما برطوبته مع حرارته فصار الهواء مصلحا بين الماء والنار. والأرواح كلهم بد لطيف بخار الهواء تكون لأنه إذا اجتمعت السخونة مع الرطوبة فليس لهما بد من أن يخرج من بينهما لطيف يصير بخارا أو ريحا لأن حرارة الشمس تُخرج

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Anaximander in The Assembly of Philosophers (R21)

R21 (\neq DK) *The Assembly of Philosophers*

a in Latin translation

He [i.e. Pythagoras] ordered that Eximedrus [i.e. Anaximander] speak first, since he was the best in counsel.

Beginning, he said that the beginning of all things is a certain nature and that this is eternal and concocts all things, and indeed it seems that their natures, generations, and destructions are times that have limits that they reach, as is seen and known. But I teach you that the stars are fiery and that air surrounds these and that, if there did not exist the moisture and density of the air, which keeps the sun's flame separate from the creatures, the sun would burn up everything that exists. But God created the air as a separation, so that it would not burn up what He had created on the earth.

b in Arabic translation in Muḥammad ibn Umayl al-Tamīmī, *Book of the Silvery Water and the Starry Earth*

Aksimīdūs al-Ġur'ānī [i.e. Anaximander] said, "[...] Water and Fire are two enemies and there is between them no affinity and close connection, because Fire is hot and dry while Water is cold and moist; as for Air, it is hot and moist, and it has been established between the two due to its humidity accompanied by heat; thus Air became the reconciler between Water and Fire. All the spiritual realities that derive from the refined exhalation of Air come to be because, when warmth mixes with humidity, it is inevita-

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من الهواء لطيفا يصير روحا وحيوة لكل مخلوق وكل هذا إنما هو من تقدير الله تعالى. والهواء إنما يستمد الرطوبة من الماء ولولا أنه يستمد من رطوبة الماء ما بقوى به على حرارة الشمس لقهرت الشمس الهواء بحرّها ولو لا تنفس الهواء حينئذ بالأرواح التي تتولد منها الخلائق لأُهْلِكَتِ الشمس ما من تحتها من الخلائق بحرّها وإنما قوى عليها الهواء لانتلاف حرارته بحرارتها وانتلاف رطوبته برطوبة الماء.

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ble for them to have something refined proceeding from them both, which becomes an exhalation or a breath, because the sun's heat extracts from air something refined, which becomes breath and life for all the creatures, and all this depends upon the design of God Almighty. Air, in its turn, acquires humidity from water; if it did not acquire something of the water's humidity, by means of which it can counter the sun's heat, the sun would dry the air by its heat; and if air did not blow through the spiritual realities out of which all the creatures come, then the sun would annihilate all the creatures below it, because of its heat; but air overcomes the latter by means of the connection it establishes between its own heat and that heat, and between its own humidity and the humidity of water.”¹

¹ Translated by Germana Chemi.

7. ANAXIMENES [ANAXIMEN.]

The data provided by the ancient sources for the dates of Anaximenes' birth and death are confused, but his activity can be situated toward the middle of the sixth century BC, a little after Anaximander's. Of his original writings only a few isolated terms survive. Diogenes Laertius reports that his mode of expression was "simple and plain" (**R2**): this is surely to be understood by contrast with the poetically charged style of Anaximander, to whose thought he is certainly responding. The evanescent character of his person—despite the fact that his name seems to have remained famous for a long time (cf. **R10**, **P5**)—contrasts with the importance to be assigned philosophically to his monism, which is founded on the properties of air.

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R

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ANAXIMENES [13 DK]

P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.3

Ἀναξιμένης Εὐρυστράτου, Μιλήσιος, ἤκουσεν Ἀναξ-
ιμάνδρον. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Παρμενίδου φασὶν ἀκούσαι
αὐτὸν¹ [. . .] καὶ γεγένηται μέν, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλό-
δωρος [FGrHist 244 F66], < . . . >² περὶ τὴν Σάρδεων
ἄλωσιν, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῇ ἐξηκοστῇ τρίτῃ Ὀλυμ-
πιάδι.³

¹ Παρμενίδην . . . αὐτοῦ Volkmann: ἔνιοι . . . αὐτοῦ secl.
Marcovich ² < . . . > lac. posuimus ³ τῇ ἐξηκοστῇ
τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ περὶ τὴν σάρδεων ἄλωσιν
mss., transp. Simson

P2 (< A7) (Ps.- ?) Hippol. Ref. 1.7.8

οὗτος ἤκμασεν περὶ ἔτος πρῶτον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς
ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος.

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P

Chronology (P1–P4)

P1 (< A1) Diogenes Laertius

Anaximenes, son of Eurystratus, of Miletus, studied with Anaximander; some people say that he also studied with Parmenides [. . .].¹ And as Apollodorus says, he was < . . . >² around the time of the capture of Sardis [= 546/5 BC], and he died during the 63rd Olympiad [= 528/4].

¹ Editors usually correct in order to reestablish the only possible chronology: “Some people say that Parmenides studied with him.” But perhaps the fiction is meaningful, emphasizing that Anaximenes is a ‘monist.’

² The transmitted text says that Anaximenes was born at the time of the capture of Sardis, but this is incompatible with the date given for his death. We suggest that an adjective indicating a particular age or meaning “famous” [cf. **P3**] or “mature” [cf. **P2**] has dropped out of the text.

P2 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

He reached full maturity around the first year of the 58th Olympiad [= 548/7].

P3 (A3) Eus. *Chron.* (Hier.), p. 102b

[ad Ol. 55] Anaximenes physicus agnoscitur.

P4 (< A2) *Suda* A.1988

γέγονεν ἐν τῇ νέ᾽ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐν τῇ Σάρδεων ἀλώσει,
ὅτε Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης Κροῖσον καθεῖλεν.

Statue (P5)

P5 (As 176 Wöhrle) Christod. *Ecphr.* 50–51

ἦν μὲν Ἀναξιμένης νοερὸς σοφός, ἐν δὲ μενουῇ
δαιμονίης ἐλέλιζε νοήματα ποικίλα βουλῆς.

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P3 (A3) Eusebius, *Chronicle*

55th Olympiad [= 560/56]: The natural philosopher Anaximenes is well known.

P4 (< A2) *Suda*

He was born in the 55th Olympiad [= 560/56] during the capture of Sardis, when Cyrus the Persian destroyed Croesus [= 546/5].¹

¹ The indication is erroneous or the text corrupt (cf. the uncertainties involved in **P1**).

Statue (P5)

P5 (≠ DK) Christodorus, *Description of the Statues in the Gymnasium of Zeuxippus at Constantinople*

Anaximenes was there, the intellectual sage; in his enthusiasm

He brandished multifarious thoughts of a divine intention.

Iconography (P6)

P6 (≠ DK) Richter I, p. 79; Koch, "Ikonographie," in Flashar, Bremer, Rechenauer (2013), I.1, pp. 219–20.

ANAXIMENES [13 DK]

D

Three Summaries Deriving Ultimately from Theophrastus (D1–D3)

D1 (< A5) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 24.26–25.1 (= Theophr. Frag. 226A FHS&G)

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ [. . .] μίαν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς¹ τὴν ὑποκειμένην φύσιν καὶ ἄπειρόν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος,² οὐκ ἀόριστον δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ³ ὠρισμένην, ἀέρα λέγων αὐτήν· διαφέρειν δὲ μανότητι καὶ πυκνότητι κατὰ τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ ἀραιούμενον⁴ μὲν πῦρ γίνεσθαι, πυκνούμενον δὲ ἄνεμον, εἴτα νέφος, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὕδωρ, εἴτα γῆν, εἴτα λίθους, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ τούτων· κίνησιν δὲ καὶ οὗτος αἰδίων ποιεῖ, δι' ἣν καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν γίνεσθαι.

¹ καὶ αὐτὸς om. A

² ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος del. Usener

³ ἀλλὰ καὶ F

⁴ διαρούμενον mss., corr. Diels

D2 (A6) Ps.-Plut. *Strom.* 3 (= Eus. *PE* 1.8.3)

Ἀναξιμένην δὲ φασὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν ἀέρα

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D

Three Summaries Deriving Ultimately from Theophrastus (D1–D3)

D1 (< A5) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

Anaximenes [. . .] says too, as he [i.e. Anaximander] does, that the underlying nature is [scil. only] one and unlimited, but not that it is indeterminate, as he [i.e. Anaximander] does, but rather that it is determinate, for he says that it is air. It differs by its rarefaction or density according to the substances: rarefied, it becomes fire; condensed, wind, then cloud; even more, water, then earth, then stones; and everything else comes from these last. As for motion, he too considers it to be eternal; and it is because of it that change too comes about.

D2 (A6) Ps.-Plutarch, *Stromata*

They say that Anaximenes affirms that the principle of all things is air and that this is unlimited in kind but limited

εἰπεῖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τῷ μὲν γένει ἄπειρον, ταῖς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ποιότησιν ὀρισμένον· γεννᾶσθαι τε πάντα κατὰ τινα πύκνωσιν τούτου καὶ πάλιν ἀραιώσιν. τὴν γε μὴν κίνησιν ἐξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρχειν· πιλουμένον¹ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν, πλατεῖαν μάλα·² διὸ καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐτὴν ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι· καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστροι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔχειν ἐκ γῆς. ἀποφαίνεται γοῦν τὸν ἥλιον γῆν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀξείαν κίνησιν καὶ μάλ' ἱκανῶς θερμότητα³ λαβεῖν.⁴

¹ πιλουμένου BODV: -μένην N: ἀπλουμένου A ² μάλα ANDV: μᾶλλον BON (in marg.) ³ θερμότητα D (os superscr. prima manus): θερμότητος Usener: θερμοτάτην ABONV ⁴ κίνησιν λαβεῖν ABOND (in marg., prima manus) V: κίνησιν om. D

D3 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippol. Ref. 1.7.1–8

[1] Ἀναξιμένης δέ [. . .] ἀέρα ἄπειρον ἔφη τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ² θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα γίνεσθαι,³ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῶν τούτου ἀπογόνων. [2] τὸ δὲ εἶδος τοῦ ἀέρος τοιοῦτον· ὅταν μὲν ὁμαλώτατος ᾖ, ὅψει ἄδηλον, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ ψυχρῷ καὶ τῷ θερμῷ καὶ τῷ νοτερῷ καὶ τῷ κινουμένῳ. κινεῖσθαι δὲ αἰεὶ· οὐ γὰρ <ἂν>⁴ μεταβάλλειν ὅσα μεταβάλλει, εἰ μὴ κινοῖτο. [3] πυκνούμενον γὰρ καὶ ἀραιούμενον διάφορον φαίνεσθαι· ὅταν γὰρ⁵ εἰς τὸ ἀραιότερον διαχυθῇ, πῦρ γίνεσθαι· ἀνέμους⁶ δὲ πάλιν εἶναι⁷ ἀέρα πυκνούμενον·

by the qualities it possesses; and that all things are generated according to a certain condensation and, in turn, rarefaction on its part; but that motion is present from eternity. He says that when the air is compressed the first thing to come about is the earth, which is extremely flat. That is why it is appropriate that it **rides** upon the air. And the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies have the principle of their generation from the earth. In any case he states that the sun is of earth, but that it is strongly heated by reason of the swiftness of its motion.

D3 (< A7) (Ps.-?) Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies*

[1] Anaximenes [. . .] said that the principle is unlimited air, from which comes about what is, what has been, and what will be, the gods and divine things, while everything else comes from its descendants. [2] The form of air is the following: when it is perfectly homogeneous, it is invisible to the eye, but it becomes visible by cold, heat, moisture, and motion. It is moved incessantly: for whatever is transformed would not be transformed if there were no motion. [3] For its appearance is different when it is condensed or rarefied. For whenever it expands and becomes more rarefied, it becomes fire, and in turn winds are air that has become condensed; and from the air, a cloud is created by

¹ καὶ Cedrenus (cf. p. 277.15–24 Bekker), om. mss.
² τὰ γινόμενα . . . τὰ ἐσόμενα καὶ secl. Marcovich ³ ἐξ οὗ
. . . γίνεσθαι damn. Heidel ⁴ <ἀν> Th. Gomperz
⁵ γὰρ Roeper: δὲ mss. ⁶ ἀνέμους Zeller: μέσως mss.
⁷ πάλιν Roeper, εἶναι Diels: ἐπὰν εἰς mss.

ἐξ ἀέρος <δὲ>⁸ νέφος ἀποτελεῖσθαι⁹ κατὰ τὴν πύλησιν· ἔτι δὲ μάλλον ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ πλείον <δὲ>¹⁰ πυκνωθέντα γῆν καὶ εἰς τὸ μάλιστα πυκνότατον¹¹ λίθους. ὥστε τὰ κυριώτατα τῆς γενέσεως ἐναντία εἶναι, θερμόν τε καὶ ψυχρόν.

[4] τὴν δὲ γῆν πλατεῖαν εἶναι ἐπ' ἀέρος ὀχουμένην· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα πάντα¹² πύρινα ὄντα ἐποχεῖσθαι τῷ ἀέρι διὰ πλάτος. [5] γεγονέναι δὲ τὰ ἄστρα ἐκ γῆς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἱκμάδα ἐκ ταύτης ἀνίστασθαι ἧς ἀραιουμένης τὸ πῦρ γίνεσθαι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς μετεωριζομένου τοὺς ἀστέρας συνίστασθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ γεώδεις φύσεις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῶν ἀστέρων συμπεριφερομένας¹³ ἐκείνοις. [6] οὐκ ἐκείσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τὰ ἄστρα λέγει, καθὼς ἕτεροι ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κεφαλὴν στρέφεται τὸ πιλίον.¹⁴ κρύπτεσθαι δὲ¹⁵ τὸν ἥλιον οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γῆς ὑψηλοτέρων μερῶν σκεπόμενον, καὶ διὰ τὴν πλείονα ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ γενομένην ἀπόστασιν. τὰ δὲ ἄστρα μὴ θερμαίνειν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἀποστάσεως.

[7] ἀνέμους δὲ γεννᾶσθαι, ὅταν ἐκπεπυκνωμένος¹⁶ ὁ ἀὴρ ἀραιωθείς¹⁷ φέρεται· συνελθόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείον παχυνθέντα¹⁸ νέφη γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ὕδωρ

⁸ <δὲ> Diels

⁹ ἀποτελεσθῇ mss., corr. Roeper

¹⁰ <δὲ> Diels

¹¹ πυκνότατον secl. Diels

¹² γὰρ post πάντα hab. LOB: om. Cedrenus, del. Diels

¹³ συμφερομένας mss., corr. Diels ex Cedrenus

compression, water when this increases, earth when it is condensed even more, and stones when it has reached the maximum condensation. So that the principal factors responsible for generation are contraries, heat and cold.

[4] The earth is flat, borne upon the air; similarly, the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies, which are all fiery, **ride** upon the air because of their flatness. [5] The heavenly bodies have come about from the earth because moisture rises up and leaves it; from its rarefaction, fire comes about; and from fire that rises aloft, the stars are composed. There are also earthy natures in the region of the heavenly bodies that accompany them in their revolution. [6] He says that the heavenly bodies do not move below the earth, as the others supposed, but around the earth, just as a **felt cap** turns around our head. And the sun is hidden not because it comes to be located below the earth, but because it is covered by the higher parts of the earth and because of the greater distance between it and us. The heavenly bodies do not cause heat because of the size of their distance.

[7] The winds are created when air that has become very condensed becomes rarefied and is set in motion. When it collects together and is condensed even more, clouds are created and in this way are transformed into water. Hail comes about when water coming from the

¹⁴ *πιλείον* mss., corr. Menagius ¹⁵ δὲ L in marg.: τε
 LOT: om. B ¹⁶ ἐκπεπυκνωμένος LOB, -μένης T: εἰς πεπυ-
 κνωμένον Usener: ἧ πεπυκνωμένος Diels ¹⁷ ἀραιωθείς
 mss.: ἀρθείς Zeller: καὶ ὥσθεις Diels ¹⁸ παχύθεντα mss.,
 corr. Salvin: συνελθόντος . . . παχυνθέντος Zeller

μεταβάλλειν. χάλαζαν δὲ γίνεσθαι, ὅταν ἀπὸ τῶν νεφῶν τὸ ὕδωρ καταφερόμενον παγῇ· χιόνα δέ, ὅταν αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐννυγρότερα ὄντα πῆξιν λάβῃ. [8] ἀστραπὴν δ', ὅταν τὰ νέφη διυστῇται βία πνευμάτων· τούτων γὰρ διυσταμένων λαμπρὰν καὶ πυρώδη γίνεσθαι τὴν αὐγὴν. ἱριν δὲ γεννᾶσθαι τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐγῶν εἰς ἀέρα συν-εστῶτα πιπτουσῶν σεισμὸν δὲ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ πλείον ἀλλοιουμένης ὑπὸ θερμασίας καὶ ψύξεως.

Air as Principle (D4)

D4 (A4) Arist. *Metaph.* A3 984a5–6

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ἀέρα καὶ Διογένης πρότερον ὕδατος καὶ μάλιστ' ἀρχὴν τιθέασι τῶν ἀπλῶν σωμάτων [...].

Air as God (D5–D6)

D5 (< A10) Aët. 1.7.13 (Stob.) [περὶ θεοῦ]

Ἀναξιμένης τὸν ἀέρα [... = **R6**].

D6 (< A10) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.26

[...] Anaximenes aera deum statuit eumque gigni esseque inmensum et infinitum et semper in motu [... = **R7**].

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clouds freezes while it descends; snow, when these same [scil. drops] possess more moisture and become frozen; [8] lightning, when the clouds burst by the violence of the winds—for when these burst, the bright and fiery flash is produced. The rainbow is born when the rays of the sun fall upon an accumulation of air; the earthquake, when the earth is transformed more by the effect of heat and cold.

Air as Principle (D4)

D4 (A4) Aristotle, *Metaphysics*

Anaximenes as well as Diogenes [cf. **DIOG. D7**] posit air as being anterior to water and as most of all principle among the simple bodies [. . .].

Air as God (D5–D6)

D5 (< A10) Aëtius

Anaximenes: air [scil. is god] [. . .].

D6 (< A10) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

[. . .] Anaximenes declared that air is god, that it is born, and that it is immense and unlimited and always in motion [. . .].

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The Transformations of Air (D7–D8)

D7 (< A5) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 149.32–150.2 (= Theophr. Frag. 226B FHS&G)

ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτου μόνου Θεόφραστος ἐν τῇ Ἱστορίᾳ τὴν μάνωσιν εἴρηκε καὶ πύκνωσιν.

D8 (< B1) Plut. *Prim. frig.* 7 947F

[. . . cf. **R4**] τὸ γὰρ συσσελλόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ πυκνούμενον ψυχρὸν εἶναι φησι, τὸ δ' ἀραιὸν καὶ τὸ χαλαρὸν (οὕτω πως ὀνομάσας καὶ τῷ ῥήματι) θερμόν. ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπεικότως λέγεσθαι τὸ καὶ θερμὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος καὶ ψυχρὰ μεθιέναι· ψύχεται γὰρ ἡ πνοὴ πιεσθεῖσα καὶ πυκνωθεῖσα τοῖς χείλεσιν, ἀνιμέμενον δὲ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπίπτουσα γίνεται θερμὸν ὑπὸ μανότητος [. . .].

Is There Only One World or an Unlimited Number of Worlds? (D9–D11)

D9 (< 59 A65) Aët. 2.4.6 (Stob.) [εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος]

[. . .] Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] φθαρτὸν τὸν κόσμον.

D10 (< A11) Simpl. *In Phys.*, p. 1121.12–15

γενητὸν δὲ καὶ φθαρτὸν τὸν ἓνα κόσμον ποιοῦσιν, ὅσοι ἀεὶ μὲν φασιν εἶναι κόσμον, οὐ μὴν τὸν αὐτὸν

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The Transformations of Air (D7–D8)

D7 (< A5) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

It is only about him [i.e. Anaximenes] that Theophrastus in his *History* has spoken of **rarefaction** and **condensation**.

D8 (< B1) Plutarch, *On the Principle of Cold*

[. . .] For he [i.e. “ancient Anaximenes,” cf. **R4**] says that the contraction and concentration of this [i.e. matter] is cold, while what is loose in texture and **slack** (calling it this very way in his own words) is hot. And that is why it is said, not implausibly, that a man emits both heat and cold from his mouth: for the breath is cooled when it is pressed together and condensed by the lips, whereas when the mouth is distended it comes out of it heated by the effect of its rarefaction [. . .].

Is There Only One World or an Unlimited Number of Worlds? (D9–D11)

D9 (< 59 A65) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximenes [. . .]: the world is perishable.

D10 (< A11) Simplicius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*

All those who state that the world is eternal, but that it is not eternally the same but is generated successively in different forms according to certain periods of time, like

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αεί, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε ἄλλον γινόμενον κατὰ τινας χρόνων
περιόδους, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης [. . .].

D11 (< 12 A17) Aët. 2.1.3 (Stob.; cf. Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ
κόσμου]

[. . .] Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ
κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.¹

¹ περίστασιν Plut.: περιαγωγὴν Stob.

Astronomy (D12–D20)

Heavens and Heavenly Bodies (D12–D14)

D12 (< A13) Aët. 2.11.1 (Stob.) [περὶ τῆς οὐρανοῦ
οὐσίας]

Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω τῆς γῆς
εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν.

D13 (A14) Aët. 2.13.10 (Stob.) [περὶ οὐσίας ἄστρον]

Ἀναξιμένης πυρίνην μὲν τὴν φύσιν τῶν ἄστρον,
περιέχειν¹ δέ τινα καὶ γεώδη σώματα συμπεριφερό-
μενα τούτοις ἀόρατα.

¹ περιέχειν F: παρέχειν C

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Anaximenes, posit that the one world is subject to generation and destruction and that it is generated successively in different forms according to certain periods of time, like Anaximenes [. . .].

D11 (< 12 A17) Aëtius

[. . .] Anaximenes [. . .]: worlds unlimited [scil. in number] in the unlimited, throughout the entire surrounding area (*peristasis*).

Astronomy (D12–D20)

Heavens and Heavenly Bodies (D12–D14)

D12 (< A13) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .]: the revolution farthest from the earth is the heavens.

D13 (A14) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the nature of the heavenly bodies is fiery, but they also comprise certain invisible earthy bodies that accompany them in their revolution.

D14 (A14) Aët. 2.14.3–4 (Ps.-Plut.; cf. Stob.) [περὶ σχημάτων ἀστέρων]

[3] Ἀναξιμένης ἥλων δίκην καταπεπηγέναι¹ τῷ κρυσταλλοειδεῖ.

[4] ἔνιοι δὲ² πέταλα³ εἶναι πύρινα ὥσπερ ζωγραφήματα.

¹ καταπεπηγέναι ΜΠ: -πληγέναι m ² ἔνιοι δὲ ΜΠ: om. m: ἐνίους δὲ Heath ³ καθάπερ ante πέταλα add. m

The Sun (D15–D18)

D15 (A15) Aët. 2.22.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος ἡλίου]

Ἀναξιμένης πλατὺν ὡς πέταλον τὸν ἥλιον.

D16 (A14) Arist. *Meteor.* 2.1 354a28–32

[. . .] πολλοὺς πεισθῆναι τῶν ἀρχαίων μετεωρολόγων τὸν ἥλιον μὴ φέρεσθαι ὑπὸ γῆν ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ἀφανίζεσθαι δὲ καὶ ποιεῖν νύκτα διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὴν εἶναι πρὸς ἄρκτον τὴν γῆν.

D17 (A14) Aët. 2.19.2 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἐπισημασίας ἀστέρων καὶ πῶς γίνεται χειμῶν καὶ θέρος]

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ διὰ μὲν ταῦτα¹ μηδὲν τούτων, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον μόνον.

¹ ταῦτα m: ταύτην ΜΠ

D14 (A14) Aëtius

[3] Anaximenes: the stars are stuck into the crystalline [scil. sphere] like **nails**.

[4] Some people say that they are fiery **leaves** like paintings.¹

¹ “Some people” might refer to sources that present Anaximenes’ doctrine in a different way, rather than to other philosophers (cf. the term “leaf” in **D15**).

The Sun (D15–D18)

D15 (A15) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the sun is flat like **a leaf**.

D16 (A14) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

[. . .] many of the ancients who spoke about heavenly phenomena (*meteôrologoi*) were convinced that the sun goes not below the earth but around the earth and this region, and that it disappears and causes night because the earth is elevated in the north [cf. **D3[6]**].

D17 (A14) Aëtius

Anaximenes: none of these phenomena [scil. the signs of the change from summer to winter and from winter to summer] occurs because of this [scil. the risings and settings of the various heavenly bodies], but because of the sun alone.

D18 (A15) Aët. 2.23.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ τροπῶν ἡλίου]

Ἀναξιμένης ὑπὸ πεπυκνωμένου ἀέρος καὶ ἀντιτύπου
ἐξωθείσθαι τὰ ἄστρο.

The Shape and Position of the Earth (D19–D20)

D19 (< A20) Arist. *Cael.* 2.13 294b13–23

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ καὶ [. . . **ANAXAG. D58; ATOM. D110**]
τὸ πλάτος αἷτιον εἶναί φασι τοῦ μένειν αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ
τέμνειν ἀλλ' ἐπιπωμάζειν τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κάτωθεν, ὅπερ
φαίνεται τὰ πλάτος ἔχοντα τῶν σωμάτων ποιεῖν
ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέμους ἔχει δυσκινήτως
διὰ τὴν ἀντέρεισιν. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν τῷ πλάτει
φασὶ τὴν γῆν πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἀέρα (τὸν δ' οὐκ
ἔχοντα¹ μεταστῆναι τόπον ἱκανὸν² ἀθρόως³ κάτωθεν
ἡρεμεῖν), ὥσπερ τὸ ἐν ταῖς κλεψύδρας ὕδωρ. ὅτι δὲ
δύναται πολὺ βάρος φέρειν ἀπολαμβανόμενος καὶ
μένων ὁ αἶρ, τεκμήρια πολλὰ λέγουσιν.

¹ ἔχοντα <τοῦ> Diels ² an τόπον ἱκανὸν μεταστῆ-
ναι? ³ τῷ post ἀθρόως utrum delendum an ante ἀθρόως
ponendum dub. Moraux

D20 (A20) Aët.

a 3.10.3 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σχήματος γῆς]

Ἀναξιμένης τραπεζοειδῆ.

D18 (A15) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the heavenly bodies [scil. retrograde] because they are pushed back by the condensed air that opposes them.

*The Shape and Position of the Earth (D19–D20)***D19** (A20) Aristotle, *On the Heavens*

Anaximenes and [. . .] say that [scil. the earth's] flatness is the cause for its stationary position. For it does not cut the air beneath it but covers it like a lid, which is what bodies possessing flatness are seen to do; for winds too have difficulty moving these bodies, because of their resistance. And [scil. they say] that the earth acts in the same way with regard to the air underlying it because of its flatness, and that since it [i.e. the air] does not have sufficient room to move, it remains motionless below [scil. the earth] in a dense mass, just like the water in clepsydras. And for the fact that air that is enclosed and stationary can bear a great weight, they provide many proofs.

D20 (A20) Aëtius

a

Anaximenes: it [i.e. the earth] is table-shaped.

b 3.15.8 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ σεισμῶν γῆς]

Ἀναξιμένης διὰ τὸ πλάτος ἐποχέισθαι τῷ αέρι.

Meteorological Phenomena (D21–D26)

Clouds, Thunder, Lightning (D21–D23)

D21 (A17) Aët. 3.4.1 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ νεφῶν ὑετῶν χιόνων χαλαζῶν]

Ἀναξιμένης νέφη μὲν γίνεσθαι παχυνθέντος ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ αέρος, μᾶλλον δ' ἐπισυναχθέντος ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους, χιόνα δέ, ἐπειδὰν τὸ καταφερόμενον ὕδωρ παγῇ, χάλαζαν¹ δ' ὅταν συμπεριληφθῇ τῷ ὑγρῷ πνεύματι.²

¹ χιόνα . . . χάλαζαν mss. (-ζα M): χάλαζαν . . .
χιόνα Diels ² τῷ ὑγρῷ πνεύματι m: τι ὑγρῷ πνεύματι
ΜΠ

D22 (As 24 Wöhrle) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 2.17

quidam existimant igneum¹ spiritum per frigida atque umida meantem² sonum reddere, nam ne ferrum quidem ardens silentio tingitur³ sed, si in aquam fervens massa descendit, cum multo murmure extinguitur. ita, ut Anaximenes ait, spiritus incidens nubibus tonitrua edit et, dum luctatur per obstantia atque interscissa⁴ vadere, ipsa ignem fuga accendit.

b

Anaximenes: because of its [i.e. the earth's] flatness it **rides** upon the air.

Meteorological Phenomena (D21–D26)

Clouds, Thunder, Lightning (D21–D23)

D21 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximenes: clouds are formed when the air becomes extremely condensed, and if it becomes even more concentrated rains are squeezed out; snow when the water freezes while it descends; and hail when some air is enclosed together with the moisture.

D22 (≠ DK) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

Some people think that a current of fiery air passing through what is cold and moist produces a sound, for neither is a blazing piece of iron dipped in silence, but if a burning lump of metal is plunged into water its quenching is accompanied by a great noise. So too, as Anaximenes says, a current of air that falls upon clouds produces a thunderclap and, while it struggles to find a passage through obstacles and fissures, it ignites a fire by its very escape.

¹ igneumZ: ineumΦ: eumET: ipsumΔ: istumB ² ineun-
tem ΔP ³ tinguitur δJ¹KZ: tingitur Φ: extinguitur A²ε
⁴ interscissa HTZ²: intercissa LOPZ¹: intercisa ΔE (-cisam) JK

D23 (A17) Aët. 3.3.2 (Stob.) [περὶ βροντῶν ἀστραπῶν κεραυνῶν πρηστήρων τε καὶ τυφώνων]

Ἀναξιμένης ταῦτα τούτῳ¹ προστιθεὶς τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἥτις σχιζομένη ταῖς κώπαις παραστίλβει.

¹ ταῦτα τοῦτο ms., corr. Heeren

Rainbow (D24–D25)

D24 (A18) Aët. 3.5.10 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἱριδος]

Ἀναξιμένης ἱρὺν γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐγασμὸν ἡλίου πρὸς νέφει πυκνῷ καὶ παχεῖ καὶ μέλανι παρὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς ἀκτῖνας εἰς τὸ πέραν διακόπτειν ἐπισυνισταμένας αὐτῷ.

D25 (A18) Schol. in Arat., p. 515.27

τὴν ἱρὺν Ἀναξιμένης φησὶ γίνεσθαι, ἥνίκα ἂν ἐπιπέσωσιν αἱ τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαὶ εἰς παχὺν καὶ πυκνὸν τὸν ἀέρα. ὅθεν τὸ μὲν πρότερον αὐτοῦ¹ τοῦ ἡλίου φοινικοῦν φαίνεται, διακαίόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων, τὸ δὲ μέλαν, κατακρατούμενον² ὑπὸ τῆς ὑγρότητος. καὶ νυκτὸς δέ φησι γίνεσθαι τὴν ἱρὺν ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλάκις διὰ τὸ μὴ πανσέληνον εἶναι διὰ παντὸς καὶ ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὴν φῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἡλίου.

¹ αὐτῆς M

² κρατούμενον A

D23 (A17) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the same as he [i.e. Anaximander about thunder, lightning, and other related phenomena, cf. **ANAXIMAND. D33a**], adding what happens on the sea, which flashes when it is broken by oars.

*Rainbow (D24–D25)***D24** (A18) Aëtius

Anaximenes: the rainbow is produced because of the shining of the sun upon a dense, thick, and dark cloud, since the rays cannot penetrate through it and therefore accumulate against it.

D25 (A18) Scholia on Aratus' *Phaenomena*

Anaximenes says that the rainbow is produced when the rays of the sun fall upon thick and dense air. That is why the part of it that is closest to the sun appears purple, since it is completely burned by the rays, while the other part appears dark, since it is dominated by the moisture. And he says that at night too the rainbow is produced because of the moon, but that this does not happen often, because there is not always a full moon and its light is weaker than the sun's.

*Winds (D26)***D26** (A19) Ps.-Gal. *In Hipp. Hum.* 3

Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος γίνεσθαι τοὺς
ἀνέμους βούλεται καὶ¹ ῥύμη τινὶ ἀγνώστῳ βιαίως
φέρεσθαι καὶ τάχιστα ὥς τὰ πτηνὰ πέτεσθαι.²

¹ τῇ post καὶ mss., secl. Kaibel
Kaibel

² πέτασθαι mss., corr.

*Earthquakes (D27–D29)***D27** (A21) Arist. *Meteor.* 2.7 365b6–12

Ἀναξιμένης δέ φησι βρεχομένην τὴν γῆν καὶ ξηραι-
νομένην ῥήγνυσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀπορρηγνυ-
μένων κολωνῶν ἐμπιπτόντων σείεσθαι· διὸ καὶ γίγνε-
σθαι τοὺς σεισμοὺς ἔν τε τοῖς αὐχμοῖς καὶ πάλιν ἐν
ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις.¹ ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς αὐχμοῖς, ὥσπερ εἴρη-
ται, ξηραινομένην ῥήγνυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων
ὑπερυγραινομένην διαπίπτειν.

¹ ὑπερομβρίαις duo mss.

D28 (> A21) Sen. *Quaest. nat.* 6.10.1–2

[1] Anaximenes ait terram ipsam sibi causam esse motus,
nec extrinsecus incurrere quod illam impellat, sed intra
ipsam¹ et ex ipsa: quasdam enim partes eius decidere, quas
aut umor resolverit aut ignis exederit aut spiritus violentia

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Winds (D26)

D26 (A19) Ps.-Galen, *Commentary on Hippocrates' On Humors*

Anaximenes supposes that the winds are produced out of water and air, and move violently with an unknown rush, and fly with great speed like birds.

Earthquakes (D27–D29)

D27 (A21) Aristotle, *Meteorology*

Anaximenes says that when the earth is moistened and dries out, it breaks apart and is shaken by the collapse of its supports by the effect of this breaking. And that is why earthquakes occur both when there is a drought and also in periods of rainstorms. For when there is a drought, as has been said, it is dried out and breaks apart, and when it is moistened too much by the rains it collapses.

D28 (> A21) Seneca, *Natural Questions*

[1] Anaximenes says that the earth itself is the cause of earthquakes and that nothing happens to it from outside that would shake it, but rather [scil. the cause] is located in itself and comes from itself: for some of its parts, which either water has dissolved, or fire has consumed, or a strong wind has shaken, collapse. But when these factors

¹ sibi . . . ipsam om. Δ

excusserit. sed his quoque cessantibus non deesse, propter quod aliquid abscedat² aut³ revellatur;⁴ nam primum omnia vetustate labuntur nec quicquam tutum a senectute est; haec solida quoque et magni roboris⁵ carpit: [2] itaque quemadmodum in aedificiis veteribus quaedam non percussa tamen decidunt, cum plus ponderis habuere quam virium, ita in hoc universo terrae corpore evenit ut partes eius vetustate solvantur, solutae cadant et tremorem superioribus afferant, primum, dum abscedunt (nihil enim utique magnum sine motu eius, cui haesit, absciditur⁶); deinde, cum deciderunt, solido exceptae resiliunt pilae more (quae cum cecidit, exultat ac saepius pellitur, totiens a solo in novum impetum missa); si vero in stagnantibus aquis delatae⁷ sunt, hic ipse casus vicina concutit fluctu, quem subitum vastumque illisum ex alto pondus eiecit.

² accedat δ ³ ac ρZ ⁴ relevetur δ ⁵ corporis δ

⁶ abscinditur *BT*: abscond. *O*: absorb. *P* ⁷ delatae
Gertz: delata *AΦ*: demissa *g²p*: delapsa *B*

D29 (< 12 A28) Amm. Marc. 17.7.12

Anaximenes¹ ait arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetrat supernus² aer violentus et nimius, ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam cieri propriis sedibus. qua de

¹ Anaximenes *ed. Accursii*: Anaximander *mss.* ² supernus
EAG: supernos *V*: super nos *B*

too are lacking, there is always some reason for something to be detached or torn away. For first of all, all things decay as they age and nothing is free from old age; this weakens even solid things and ones of considerable sturdiness. [2] And so, just as in old buildings some things fall down even without having been struck hard, since they have more weight than strength, so too in the whole body of the earth it happens that parts of it are dissolved by age, and when they are dissolved they fall down and shake what is above them—first, at the moment they are detached (for nothing, whatever its size, is detached without causing a jolt to what it is attached to); then, at the moment they fall, for when they hit something solid they rebound like a ball (which, when it falls, bounces up and springs many times, as many as it rebounds from the ground at every bounce): but if they fall into stagnant waters, this fall itself shakes the nearby areas by causing a sudden, huge wave, which is produced by the weight crashing down into them from above.¹

¹ It is difficult to distinguish Seneca's elaboration from what belongs to Anaximenes.

D29 (< 12 A28) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Histories*

Anaximenes says that when the earth is dried out by an excessive drought caused by heat or after it has been drenched by rainstorms, very large cracks open up, which a violent and excessive current of air penetrates from above, and that when it is shaken by the forceful wind passing through these it quakes in its very foundations.

causa tremores³ huiusmodi vaporatis temporibus aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione contingunt.

³ tremores *Lind. in adn. Btl.*: terrores *mss.*

The Soul (D30–D31)

D30 (cf. A23) Aët. 4.3.2 (Stob.) [περὶ ψυχῆς]

Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] ἀερώδη.

D31 (< B2) Aët. 1.3.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

Ἀναξιμένης [. . .] ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀέρα ἀπεφύνατο· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου τὰ¹ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι, “οἶον ἢ ψυχῇ,” φησὶν, “ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀἷρ οὖσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀἷρ περιέχει”. λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀἷρ καὶ πνεῦμα [. . . = R5].

¹ τὰ del. Diels

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This is why tremors of this sort happen in warm seasons or when there is excessive precipitation of water falling from the sky.

The Soul (D30–D31)

D30 (cf. A23) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .]: [scil. the soul is] of air.

D31 (< B2) Aëtius

Anaximenes [. . .] asserted that the principle of beings is air. For it is out of this that all things come about and it is into this that they are dissolved in turn. He says, “Just as our soul, which is air, dominates us, so too breath and air surround the whole world.”¹ (‘Air’ and ‘breath’ are being used synonymously) [. . .].

¹ Diels considers this sentence to be a direct quotation from Anaximenes, but it is more likely to be a paraphrase reflecting later terminology.

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R

Ancient Treatises on Anaximenes (R1)

R1 Diog. Laert.

a (As 7 Wöhrle) 5.42 (Theophr.)

Περὶ τῶν Ἀναξιμένους α΄

b (As 14 Wöhrle) 10.28 (Epicur.)

Ἀναξιμένης

Style (R2)

R2 (< A1) Diog. Laert. 2.3

κέχρηται τε λέξει¹ Ἰάδι ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀπερίττῳ.

¹ λέξει B et P¹ in marg.: γλώσση P¹ in textu

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R

Ancient Treatises on Anaximenes (R1)

R1 (\neq DK) Diogenes Laertius

a From the catalog of books written by Theophrastus
On the Doctrines of Anaximenes, one book

b From the catalog of books written by Epicurus
Anaximenes

Style (R2)

R2 ($<$ A1) Diogenes Laertius

He makes use of an Ionic style that is simple and plain.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

A Probable Criticism in Plato (R3)

R3 (As 1 Wöhrle) Plat. *Tim.* 49b–d

πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ δὴ νῦν ὕδωρ ὠνομάκαμεν, πηγνύμενον ὡς δοκοῦμεν λίθους καὶ γῆν γιγνόμενον ὁρώμεν, τηκόμενον δὲ καὶ διακρινόμενον αὖ ταὐτὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα καὶ ἀέρα, συγκαυθέντα δὲ ἀέρα πῦρ, ἀνάπαλιν δὲ συγκριθέν καὶ κατασβεσθὲν εἰς ἰδέαν τε ἀπὶὸν αὐθις ἀέρος πῦρ, καὶ πάλιν ἀέρα συνιόντα καὶ πυκνούμενον νέφος καὶ ὁμίχλην, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον συμπιλουμένων ῥέον ὕδωρ, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ γῆν καὶ λίθους αὐθις, κύκλον τε οὕτω διαδιδόντα εἰς ἄλληλα, ὡς φαίνεται, τὴν γένεσιν. οὕτω δὴ τούτων οὐδέποτε τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκάστων φανταζομένων, ποιοῦν αὐτῶν ὡς ὃν ὅτι οὖν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο παγίως δισχυριζόμενος οὐκ αἰσχυνέεται τις ἑαυτόν;

Two Peripatetic Criticisms (R4–R5)

R4 (< B1) Plut. *Prim. frig.* 7 948A

[. . .] ἥ, καθάπερ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ παλαιὸς ᾤετο, μήτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐν οὐσίᾳ μήτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπολείπωμεν, ἀλλὰ πάθη κοινὰ τῆς ὕλης ἐπιγινόμενα ταῖς μεταβολαῖς [. . . = D8] τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἀγνόημα ποιεῖται τοῦ ἀνδρός ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης· ἀνιέμενον γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ἐκπνέειν τὸ θερμὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δὲ συστρέψαντες τὰ χεῖλη φυσῇσωμεν, οὐ τὸν ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν

*A Probable Criticism in Plato (R3)***R3** (\neq DK) Plato, *Timaeus*

First, we see that what we now call water, when it solidifies, becomes, as we think, stones and earth, but then again the same thing, when it liquefies and becomes dissolved, [scil. becomes] wind and air, and when air is strongly heated [scil. it becomes] fire, and conversely when fire is brought together and extinguished it returns once again into the form of air, and again air, coming together and condensing, [scil. becomes] cloud and mist, and that out of these, when they are compressed together even more, water flows, and out of water earth and stones once again, and that in a circle they pass on generation to one another in this way, as it appears [cf. **D1**, **D3**[3]]. But since none of these things ever manifests itself as being the same, which of them is there about which one could claim with confidence and without embarrassment that it really is this and not something else?

*Two Peripatetic Criticisms (R4–R5)***R4** ($<$ B1) Plutarch, *On the Principle of Cold*

[. . .] or else, as ancient Anaximenes thought, let us accept neither cold nor heat as substance, but consider them to be common affections of matter supervening during its transformations. Aristotle attributes this [cf. **D8**] to ignorance on the part of that man. For when the mouth is distended, we breathe out the heat that comes from ourselves, but when we draw our lips together and blow out,

ἀέρα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ στόματος ὠθείσθαι ψυχρὸν ὄντα
καὶ προσπίπτειν.¹

¹ προσπίπτειν gX (et BE teste Wytttenbach): προσεμπίπτειν
O

R5 (< B2) Aët. 1.3.4 (Ps.-Plut.) [περὶ ἀρχῶν]

[. . . = **D31**] ἀμαρτάνει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐξ ἀπλοῦ καὶ
μονοειδοῦς ἀέρος καὶ πνεύματος δοκῶν συνεστάναι τὰ
ζῶα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀρχὴν μίαν τὴν ὕλην τῶν ὄντων
ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα ὑποστῆναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιῶν αἴτιον
χρὴ ὑποτιθέναι· οἷον ἄργυρος οὐκ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔκ-
πωμα γενέσθαι, ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸ ποιῶν ᾗ, τουτέστιν ὁ
ἀργυροκόπος· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοῦ
ξύλου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὕλης.

A Stoicizing Scholastic Interpretation (R6)

R6 (< A10) Aët. 1.7.13 (Stob.) [τίς ἐστιν ὁ θεός]

[. . . = **D5**] δεῖ δ' ὑπακούειν ἐπὶ τῶν οὕτως λεγομένων
τὰς ἐνδιηκούσας¹ τοῖς στοιχείοις ἢ τοῖς σώμασι δυ-
νάμεις.

¹ ἐνδιηκούσας P: ἐνδιοικούσας F

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then it is not the air that comes from us but cold air in front of the mouth that is pushed and ejected.

R5 (< B2) Aëtius

[. . .] he too [scil. like Anaximander, **ANAXIMAND. R13**] is mistaken in thinking that animals are composed out of simple and uniform air and breath. For it is impossible to posit the matter of the beings from which all things come as the sole principle: it is also necessary to posit the efficient cause—for example, the silver is not enough for the cup to come about, if there is not what makes it, that is the silversmith; and so too for bronze, wood, and all other kinds of matter.

A Stoicizing Scholastic Interpretation (R6)

R6 (< A10) Aëtius

[. . .] With regard to what is said in this way [scil. that air is god], one must understand the powers that traverse the elements or the bodies.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

An Epicurean Criticism (R7)

R7 (< A10) Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.10.26

[. . . = **D6**] quasi aut aer sine ulla forma deus esse possit, cum praesertim deum non modo aliqua, sed pulcherrima specie deceat esse, aut non omne quod ortum sit mortalitas consequatur.

Discoveries Attributed to Anaximenes (R8–R9)

R8 (< A14a) Plin. *Nat. hist.* 2.187

umbrarum hanc rationem et quam vocant gnomonicen invenit Anaximenes Milesius [. . .] primusque horologium quod appellant sciothericon Lacedaemone ostendit.

R9 (< A16) Theon Sm. *Exp.* 3.10, pp. 198.19–99.2

Εὐδημος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἀστρολογίαις [Frag. 145 Wehrli] [. . .] Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὅτι ἡ σελήνη ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ἔχει τὸ φῶς καὶ τίνα ἐκλείπει τρόπον.

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An Epicurean Criticism (R7)

R7 (< A10) Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*

[. . .] as though air without any form could be a god—whereas it is fitting especially for a god to have not just some appearance, but the most beautiful appearance possible; or as though everything that comes into being were not subject to mortality.

Discoveries Attributed to Anaximenes (R8–R9)

R8 (< A14a) Pliny, *Natural History*

Anaximenes of Miletus [. . .] discovered this calculation of shadows, which they call “gnomic,” and he was the first to exhibit in Sparta the clock they call *skiotherikon*.¹

¹ Probable confusion with Anaximander, cf. **ANAXIMAND.**

R14. The *skiotherikon* is a kind of sundial.

R9 (< A16) Theon of Smyrna, *Mathematics Useful for Understanding Plato*

Eudemus reports in his *Astronomy* [. . .]: Anaximenes [scil. was the first to discover] that the moon gets its light from the sun and in what way it is eclipsed.¹

¹ Probable confusion with Parmenides, cf. **PARM. D27–**

D29.

*A Fictional Scene from a Fragmentary
Greek Novel: The Philosopher at the
Court of Polycrates (R10)*

R10 (As 18 Wöhrle) P. Berol. 7927, 9588, 21179 Col. 1.24–33; Col. 2.34–36, 53–57, 62–68 (Stephens-Winkler, pp. 82–89)

[1.24] . . . πάντων δὲ τῶ[ν] ἐ[.] | θαυ[μ]ασάντων τὸ
εὐθαρσὲς καὶ | τῶν] λόγων ὁ Πολυκράτης ὑπερ |]ν,”
ἔφη, “τέκνον, πότου καιρὸς |]γειν χρὴ τὰ λυποῦντα
μεθ |]ντωνομεια σχολάζομεν | [30] [] . ων εἰς τὸν
Ἀναξιμένην οἱ |] . . . σ ἡμῖν,” ἔφη, “σήμερον αἱ |]τ[ο]ν
παιδὸς ἡκοντος ἐνω |]μαντεύομαι μούσαν, προτι | [2.34]
[θεῖς τ]ῇν φ[ιλ]οσόφου ζήτησιν κατὰ τύχην τ[. . . .].”
[35] [καὶ ἐταράχθ]ησαν οἱ δύο τὰς ψυχὰς λα-
β[όν] | [τες.] οὐ πάθους ἀνάμνησιν ἔφο[. . .]
| [. . .]

[2.53] [εἴη] δ’ ἂν κακείμενο παντελῶς ἀπίθανο[ν, εἰ] |
[βρέφ]ος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἔρως, περινοστεῖν αὐτ[ὸ]ν ὅ[λ]η]ν
τῇν | [55] [οἴκου]μένην, τοξεύειν μὲν τῶν ὑπαντῶν |]των,
οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλῃ, καὶ πυρπ[ο]λεῖν | [ὥστ’ ἐ]ν μὲν
ταῖς τῶν ἐρώντων ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγναι | [σθαι] ἱερὸν πνεῦμά
τι οἶον θε[ο]φορ. . .

[2.62] ἐβου- | [. . .]ν λόγον περαίνειν καὶ ὁ [Ἀ]ν[α]-
ξιμένης δι[ε]λέγετο πρὸς τὴν Παρθενόπην ἀντιλαβέ-
σθαι | [65] [τῆς ζ]ητήσεως· κακείνη | δ[ι’ ὁ]ργῆς
ἔχουσα τὸν Μητίοχον διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογήσαι μήπω
οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἐρασιθῆναι (καὶ εὖξατο μηδὲ μέλλειν)
“ ” ἔφη, [. . .]

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A Fictional Scene from a Fragmentary Greek Novel: The Philosopher at the Court of Polycrates (R10)

R10 (≠ DK) *Metiochus and Parthenope*¹

While all of the . . . marveled at the courage and . . . of the words, Polycrates . . . said, "Child, it is time to drink . . . inebriation must . . . what causes grief . . . we are at leisure . . ." . . . [scil. looking?] at Anaximenes . . . for us," he said, "today . . . since the boy has arrived . . . I predict a . . . Muse, as I have proposed . . . the philosopher's inquiry by chance . . ." [And] the two [scil. were thrown into a turmoil?] in their souls when they heard . . . the recollection of suffering.

[scil. Metiochus said,] "[. . .] And that too would be entirely implausible, if Eros is a child, that he wanders about the whole inhabited world, shoots arrows at whomsoever he wishes among the people he encounters, and sets them ablaze, so that in the lovers' souls some kind of holy breath (*hieron pneuma ti*) is produced, as it is in people who are inspired (?). [. . .]"

. . . He wanted to finish his speech, but Anaximenes told Parthenope to take part in her turn in the inquiry. And she, being angry with Metiochus because he refused to admit that he had ever loved any woman (and he prayed that he never would), said . . .

¹ This anonymous novel, which may date to the first century BC, illustrates the cultural role of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. Metiochus is the son of Polycrates and Hegesipyle. The poet Ibycus is present too.

*An Apocryphal Correspondence between
Anaximenes and Pythagoras (R11)*

R11 Diog. Laert.

a (As 73 Wöhrle) 2.4

Θαλῆς Ἐξαμύνου¹ ἐπὶ γήρως οὐκ εὖποτμος οἴχεται· εὐ-
φρόνης, ὥσπερ ἐώθει,² ἅμα τῇ ἀμφιπόλῳ προῖων ἐκ
τοῦ αὐλίου τὰ ἄστρα ἐθηεῖτο· καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐς μνήμην
ἔθετο) θηεύμενος ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐκβὰς καταπίπτει.
Μιλησίοισι μὲν νυν³ ὁ αἰθερολόγος ἐν τοιῷδε κείμενος
τέλει· ἡμέες δὲ οἱ λεσχηνῶνται αὐτοὶ τε μεμνώμεθα τοῦ
ἀνδρός, οἳ τε ἡμέων παῖδες τε καὶ λεσχηνῶνται, ἐπι-
δεξιούμεθα⁴ δ' ἔτι τοῖς ἐκείνου λόγοις. ἀρχὴ μέντοι
παντὸς τοῦ λόγου Θαλῆ ἀνακείσθω.

¹ ἐκ καλοῦ mss., corr. M. Gudius ap. Menagium

² ἔωθεν mss., corr. Cobet ³ νῦν mss., corr. Casaubon

⁴ ἐπιδεξιούμεθα prop. dub. Von der Mühl

b (As 74 Wöhrle) 2.5

εὐβουλότατος ἦς ἡμέων, μεταναστὰς ἐκ Σάμου ἐς
Κρότωνα, ἐνθάδε εἰρηνέεις· οἱ δὲ Αἰακέος παῖδες ἄλα-
στα¹ κακὰ ἔρδουσι καὶ Μιλησίους οὐκ ἐπιλείπουσι
αἰσυνμνήται. δεινὸς δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς,
οὐκ ἦν γε ἐθέλωμεν δασμοφορέειν· ἀλλὰ μέλλουσι δὴ
ἀμφὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπάντων Ἴωνες Μήδοις κατ-

¹ ἄλαστα Porson: ἄλλοις τὰ mss.

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An Apocryphal Correspondence between Anaximenes and Pythagoras (R11)

R11 (≠ DK) Diogenes Laertius

a [Anaximenes to Pythagoras:]

Thales, the son of Examyas, in his old age was not fortunate in his passing. At night, as was his custom, he went forth from the courtyard with his serving-maid to observe the stars. And forgetting where he was, he came to a cliff while he was observing and fell over. This is how the Milesians lost their student of the heavens [cf. **THAL. P12**]. But let us, his pupils, cherish this man's memory, and so too our children and our pupils; and let us continue to enjoy (?) his discourses. May the starting point of our every discourse be dedicated to Thales.

b [Anaximenes to Pythagoras:]

You were the best advised of us all: for now that you have moved away from Samos to Croton, you live in peace there. Aeaces' sons [i.e. the tyrant Polycrates and his brothers] commit dreadful evils, and tyrants continue to rule the Milesians. The king of the Medes too is terrifying for us, unless indeed we are willing to pay him tribute. But the Ionians are about to start a war against the Medes for

ίστασθαι ἐς πόλεμον καταστᾶσι δὲ οὐκέτι ἐλπίς ἡμῖν
σωτηρίας. κῶς ἂν οὖν Ἀναξιμένης ἐν θυμῷ ἔτι ἔχοι
αἰθερολογεῖν, ἐν δείματι ἐὼν ὀλέθρον ἢ δουλοσύνης;
σὺ δὲ εἰ καταθύμιος μὲν Κροτωνιήτησι, καταθύμιος
δὲ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰταλιώτησι φοιτέουσι δέ τοι
λεσχηνώται καὶ ἐκ Σικελίης.

c (As 77 Wöhrle) 8.49–50

καὶ σύ, ὦ λῶσ τε, εἰ μηδὲν ἀμείνων ἦς Πυθαγόρῳ
γενεήν τε καὶ κλέος, μεταναστὰς ἂν οἴχεο ἐκ Μιλή-
τον· νῦν δὲ κατερύκει σε ἡ πατρόθεν εὐκλεία, καὶ ἐμέ
γε¹ ἂν κατέρυκεν Ἀναξιμένει ἐοικότα. εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ
ὀνήιστοι τὰς πόλιας ἐκλείψετε, ἀπὸ μὲν αὐτέων ὁ κό-
σμος αἰρεθήσεται, ἐπὶ δὲ κινδυνότερα αὐτῇσι τὰ ἐκ
Μήδων. [50] οὔτε δὲ αἰεὶ καλὸν αἰθερολογίη² μελεδω-
νόν τε εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι κάλλιον. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ πάντα
περὶ τοὺς ἐμεωντοῦ μύθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις οὖς
διαφέρουσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους Ἰταλιῶται.

¹ τε mss., corr. Von der Mühl

² αἰθερολογίη PF: -γείν

Anaximenes Among the Christians (R12–R13)

R12 (As 59 Wöhrle) Min. Fel. Octav. 19.5

Anaximenes deinceps et post Apolloniatas Diogenes aera
deum statuunt infinitum et inmensum; horum quoque
similis de divinitate consensio est.

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the sake of everyone's freedom.¹ But if this happens, we shall lose any hope of being saved. How then could Anaximenes still think to study the heavens, living as he does in fear of death or slavery? But you find favor with the Crotonians and also the other Greeks in southern Italy [cf. **PYTH. a P24–P26**]; and pupils come to you even from Sicily.

¹ An allusion to the Ionian revolt against Cyrus.

c [Pythagoras to Anaximenes:]

You too, worthy friend, if you had not been superior to Pythagoras in family and fame, would have moved away and left Miletus. But as it is your ancestral renown detains you, as mine would have detained me had I been the equal of Anaximenes. But if you, the best of men, abandon the cities, then their fine order will be destroyed and the Medes' schemes will become more dangerous for them. [50] To study the heavens is not always a fine thing: it is finer to be concerned for your fatherland. I too am not completely occupied by my discourses, but I am also engaged in the wars that the Greeks in Italy fight against one another.

Anaximenes Among the Christians (R12–R13)

R12 (≠ DK) Minucius Felix, *Octavius*

Then Anaximenes and later Diogenes of Apollonia declare that air is an infinite and immense god; the view they too share regarding divinity is similar [scil. to ours].

R13 August.

a (< A10) *Civ. Dei* 8.2

[. . .] non tamen ab ipsis aerem factum, sed ipsos ex aere ortos credidit.

b (< As 101 Wöhrle) *Conf.* 10.6

et quid est hoc? interrogavi terram, et dixit: “non sum”; et quaecumque in eadem sunt, idem confessa sunt. interrogavi mare et abyssos et reptilia animarum vivarum, et responderunt: “non sumus deus tuus; quaere super nos.” interrogavi auras flabiles, et inquit universus aer cum incolis suis: “fallitur Anaximenes: non sum deus.”

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R14)

R14 (B3) *Ps.-Olymp. Ars sacra* 25

μίαν δὲ κινουμένην ἄπειρον ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ὄντων
δοξάζει Ἀναξιμένης τὸν ἀέρα. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· “ἐγ-
γὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ὅτι κατ’ ἔκρεια
τούτου γινόμεθα, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν καὶ ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ
πλούσιον διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκλείπειν.”

R13 Augustine

a (< A10) *City of God*

[. . .] however he believed not that air was made by them [i.e. the gods] but that they came to be out of air.

b (≠ DK) *Confessions*

And what is this [i.e. God]? I asked the earth, and it said, "I am not He"; and all the things that are in it admitted the same thing. I asked the sea and the abysses and, among the animate creatures, the ones that walk the earth; and they replied, "We are not your God; seek above us." I asked the blowing winds, and the whole air together with its inhabitants said, "Anaximenes is mistaken: I am not God."

A Greek Alchemical Adaptation (R14)

R14 (B3) Ps.-Olympiodorus, *On the Sacred Art*

Anaximenes is of the opinion that air is the one principle, moved and unlimited, of all beings. For he speaks as follows: "Air is near to the incorporeal. And since we are born from an outflow of this, it is necessary that it be infinite and rich, because it never fails."¹

¹ This citation is inauthentic.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY II

Anaximenes in The Assembly of Philosophers (R15)

R15 (As 232 Wöhrle) *Turba Phil.* Sermo II, p. 45.1–9
Plessner

ait Exumdrus: magnifico aera et honorifico—ut Eximedri roborem sermonem¹—eo quod per ipsum opus emendatur, et spissatur et rarescit et calefit et frigescit. eius autem spissitudo fit, quando disiungitur propter solis elongationem; eius vero raritas fit, quando in coelo² exaltato sole calescit aer et rarescit. similiter vero fit in veris complexione,³ in temporis nec calidi nec frigidi distinctione. nam secundum alterationem dispositionis constitutae ad distinctiones anni alterandas hyems alteratur. aer igitur spissatur, cum ab eo sol elongatur, et tunc hominibus frigus pervenit; aere vero rarescente prope fit sol, quo propinquo et aere rarescente calor pervenit hominibus.

¹ ut . . . sermonem *secl. Ruska* ² in coelo *solus M, om. cett.*
³ complexione *BM: compilatione E: copulatione N*

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Anaximenes in The Assembly of Philosophers (R15)

R15 (\neq DK) *The Assembly of Philosophers*

Exumdrus [i.e. Anaximenes¹] said: “I exalt the air and honor it—so that I might corroborate Eximedrus’ [i.e. Anaximander’s] discourse—because by its means the work [scil. of alchemy] is rectified, and it becomes dense and rarefied, and hot and cold. Its condensation comes about when it is separated [scil. from the sun] because of the increase in the distance of the sun; but its rarefaction comes about when because of the height of the sun in the sky the air becomes warm and rarefied. But it becomes homogeneous in the mixture of the spring, in the season of the year that is neither hot nor cold. For according to the alteration of the arrangement that is constituted for altering the seasons of the year, the winter is altered. Thus the air becomes condensed when the distance of the sun from it is increased, and at that time coldness reaches humans; but when the air becomes rarefied the sun comes near, and when it is near and the air becomes rarefied warmth reaches humans.”

¹ Identified as Anaximenes by Plessner, as Anaximander by Ruska.